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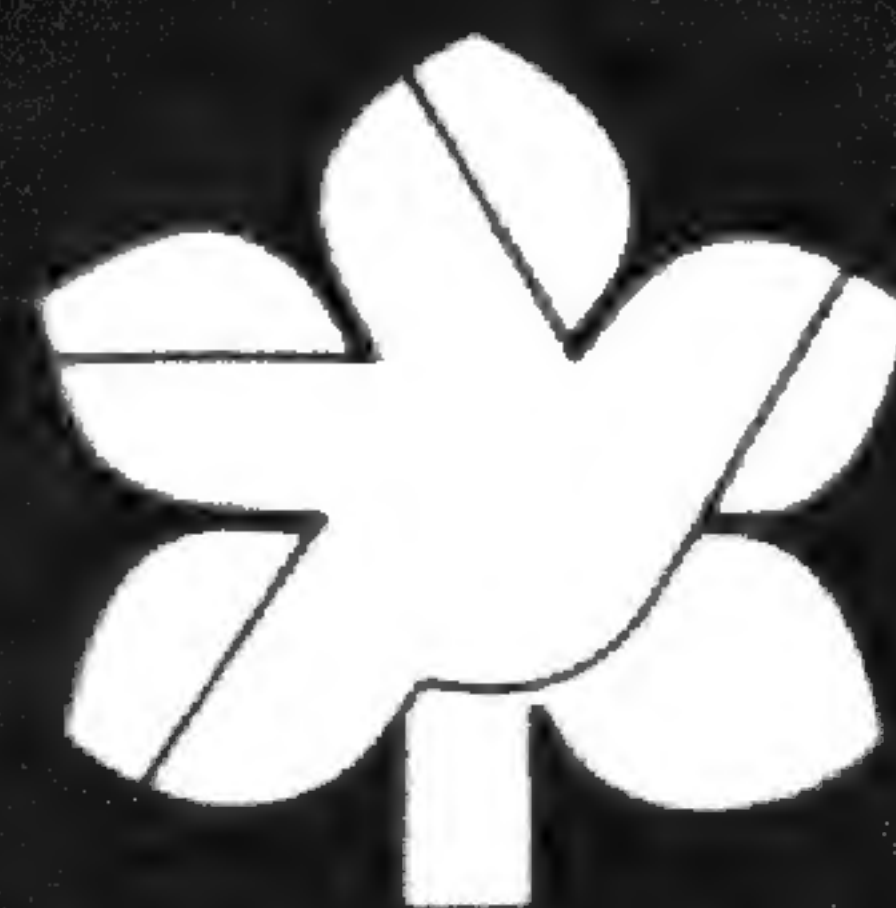
**CANADIAN  
HORTICULTURAL  
HISTORY**

*an interdisciplinary journal*

**HISTOIRE  
DE L'HORTICULTURE  
AU CANADA**

*revue interdisciplinaire*

Vol. 3, No. 1, 1995



**CENTRE FOR CANADIAN  
HISTORICAL HORTICULTURAL STUDIES  
ROYAL BOTANICAL GARDENS**

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Ina Vrugtman, Editor/Rédactrice en chef

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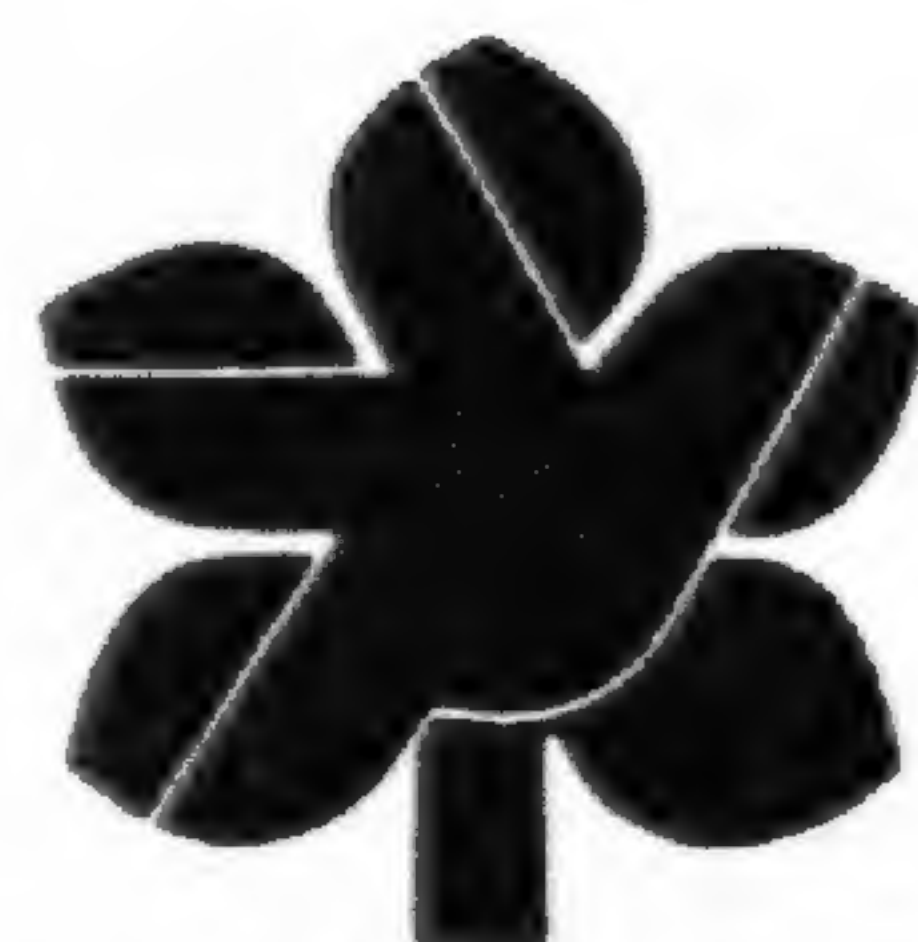
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### **Note from the Editor**

It is with much pleasure and relief, that we publish this issue of CHH/HHC. The hiatus between the previous issue, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1991, and this issue, vol. 3, no. 1, 1995, resulted from staff cuts caused by the times. We were fortunate when Yvonne Cunnington volunteered her time and talents in editing and preparing this issue for publication. We are indebted to her.

INA VRUGTMAN, *Editor*

YVONNE CUNNINGTON, *Guest Editor*



CANADIAN HORTICULTURAL HISTORY

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HISTOIRE DE L'HORTICULTURE AU CANADA

Vol. 3, No. 1, 1995

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**CANADIAN BOTANICAL SPECIMENS COLLECTED 1826-1828  
BY THE COUNTESS OF DALHOUSIE,  
ACQUIRED BY THE ROYAL BOTANICAL GARDENS<sup>1</sup>**

JAMES S. PRINGLE

*Royal Botanical Gardens,  
Box 399, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8N 3H8*

**Abstract**

The Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario, has acquired herbarium specimens collected 1825-1827, mostly in Québec, by the Countess of Dalhousie, who is noted for her contributions of botanical specimens for the studies of Sir William Jackson Hooker.

**Résumé**

Les Jardins botaniques royaux d'Hamilton, Ontario, ont acquis des spécimens d'herbier récoltés de 1826 à 1828, principalement au Québec, par la Comtesse de Dalhousie. Cette dernière est surtout connue pour sa contribution par des spécimens botaniques aux études de Sir William Hooker.

*Traduction de Céline Arsenault, Jardin botanique de Montréal*

**Introduction**

Marie Elwood (1987) of the Nova Scotia Provincial Museum recently reported the discovery of a substantial collection of material amassed by George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, while he was Governor-in-Chief of British North America. Of greatest interest to Dr. Elwood were paintings and sketches by John Elliott Woolford and John Crawford Young, the former having been commissioned to record Lord Dalhousie's activities and observations in British North America. Other items significant to Canadian history included architectural and engineering plans and drawings for projects in the Canadas and Nova Scotia during the Earl's governorship, and paintings and caricatures by Lady Dalhousie, lampooning members of Halifax society and its military establishment. These items were at the ancestral home of Lady Dalhousie's family in Scotland, and at the time of their discovery were still in the possession of collateral descendents of the Countess. Following Dr. Elwood's expressions of interest, the owner offered these items for sale, and those mentioned above, among others, were acquired by a consortium of four Canadian cultural institutions, viz. the Nova Scotia Provincial Museum, the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, the National

<sup>1</sup>Contribution No. 79 from the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.



Archives of Canada, and the National Gallery, with the aid of a Cultural Property Grant.

Herbarium specimens collected by Lady Dalhousie were also noted, but were not included in the original purchase. Dr. Elwood brought these to the attention of Allen Paterson,<sup>2</sup> Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, who negotiated on behalf of the R.B.G. to purchase the specimens discussed here. About the same time, a handsomely bound album containing other botanical specimens collected by Lady Dalhousie, which had been the property of the Earl's family, was offered for sale at auction. Mr. Paterson submitted a bid for this album on behalf of the Royal Botanical Gardens, but it was acquired by a higher bidder.

### **Biographical Notes on the 9th Earl and the Countess of Dalhousie**

Christian Broun<sup>3</sup>, who became the Countess of Dalhousie, was born 28 February 1786, presumably at the family home in Colstoun, near Haddington, East Lothian, Scotland. She married George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, 14 May 1805. During his military and administrative career the Earl traveled extensively and resided in several different parts of the British Empire, and it was through accompanying him that Lady Dalhousie was able to collect botanical specimens in diverse regions. Following service in the Napoleonic Wars as one of Wellington's generals, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1816, and remained in that post until he was appointed Governor-in-Chief of the British Provinces in North America following the death of the Duke of Richmond. He arrived at Québec City, the administrative capital of British North America, as Governor-in-Chief in June 1820. During his governorship he made frequent tours of the countryside in both Lower and Upper Canada,<sup>4</sup> being particularly concerned with the promotion and improvement of agriculture, and also visited Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In Upper Canada he took considerable interest in the progress of the Rideau Canal, then under construction. He became known as a patron of social and cultural institutions. While Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia he at least laid the groundwork for the establishment of Dalhousie University, although it did not function as a university until considerably later. He was one of the founders of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1824, and provided valuable support for the establishment of the Natural History Society of Montreal in 1827 (Zeller 1987; Burroughs 1988; Duchesne & Carle 1990).

<sup>2</sup>Allen Paterson retired as Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens in September 1993.

<sup>3</sup>Lady Dalhousie's given name appears as "Christina" in some recent references, but consistently as "Christian" in older works, including biographical notes by her friends (e.g. Ramsay 1928), as well as in *Burke's Peerage* and Dr. Elwood's (1987) paper. The name Christian was not infrequently given to females in her time, and is still so used in the Broun family (M. Elwood, pers. comm. 1993).

<sup>4</sup>From 1791 to 1841 Lower Canada was a province consisting of that portion of present-day Québec within the watershed of the St. Lawrence River and Gulf; Upper Canada was that portion of present-day Ontario within the Great Lakes-Saint Lawrence watershed. The name Canada was not applied to other parts of present-day Canada until 1867.



Governors in British North America during the 1820s and 1830s inevitably became embroiled in controversy, because of the increasing public demand for home rule that led to the Papineau and Mackenzie rebellions in 1837, and the power struggles associated with the proposal to unite the Canadas into one province. Lord Dalhousie was recalled in 1829, and, after returning briefly to Britain, he was named Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India. He remained in India until 1832; then, because his health had deteriorated in the tropical climate, he retired to Scotland, where he died in 1838. Lady Dalhousie survived him until 22 June 1839 (Burroughs 1988). She was characterized by her friend (no relation) Dean Ramsay (1928 ed. seen in this study; also in Nelmes & Cuthbertson 1932) as being "eminently distinguished for a fund of the most varied knowledge, for a clear and powerful judgment, for acute observation, for a kind heart, a brilliant wit."

### Botanical Contributions of Lady Dalhousie

The specimens discussed in the present paper represent only a small part of Lady Dalhousie's botanical activities. She had prepared specimens from Nova Scotia while the Earl was Lieutenant-Governor of that province, and had presented an herbarium of specimens from British North America to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1824 (LeMoine 1882; Duchesne & Carle 1990), supplemented by another gift of ca. 400 specimens collected in 1827 (Dalhousie 1829; Boivin 1980), the latter including many of the same species as those represented in the collection discussed here. These collections were presumably among the natural-history specimens destroyed by the fires that ravaged the quarters of the Society in 1854 and 1860, although other specimens that Lady Dalhousie collected in Nova Scotia are extant in Edinburgh. Her best-known botanical contributions are specimens obtained in India in 1830 and 1831, in recognition of which the Scottish botanist Robert Graham honoured her in the generic name *Dalhousiea* Graham ex Benth., for a genus of Fabaceae native to India. Hooker also named a Himalayan fern<sup>5</sup> *Asplenium dalhousiae* Hook. (Aspleniaceae), Lady Dalhousie having discovered the species and collected the type specimen at Simla. Lady Dalhousie's herbarium of Indian plants, comprising ca. 1200 specimens, was presented to the Botanical Society of Edinburgh ca. 1837 (Nelmes & Cuthbertson 1932). She also collected botanical specimens in Brazil, Madeira, Malaya, Morocco, St. Helena, and South Africa. Some of these specimens, which she sent to William Jackson Hooker, are now in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; others are in the herbaria of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, the botanical garden at Geneva,

<sup>5</sup>*Asplenium dalhousiae* is also native, disjunctly, to Ethiopia and Arizona and adjacent México. It is commonly cultivated in terraria, sometimes under the name *Ceterach dalhousiae* (Hook.) C. Chr. A.H.R. Grisebach, a German botanist who studied specimens in Hooker's herbarium at Kew, based the name *Ophelia dalhousiana* Griseb. on a specimen collected by Lady Dalhousie at Simla, but this supposed species is now included in *Swertia ciliata* (D. Don ex G. Don) B.L. Burtt (Gentianaceae).





Lady Dalhousie, born Christian Broun, the wife of George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie.

Switzerland, and the university at Florence, Italy (Lanjouw & Stafleu 1954; Hodge & Lamond 1970; Boivin 1980). According to Burroughs (1988), the Earl and Countess established a "botanical garden" at Québec and sent many Canadian plants to Scotland for the gardens of Dalhousie Castle, near Bonnyrigg, Midlothian.

William Jackson Hooker's (1829-1841) *Flora Boreali-Americana* served as the standard flora for present-day Canada for many years, and the importance of individuals in the history of the floristic exploration of Canada during the early nineteenth century is largely proportionate to the number of their specimens cited in that flora. Several earlier floras had included Upper and Lower Canada and all or part of present-day Atlantic Canada in their coverage, and had been based in part on Canadian specimens (perhaps most notably those obtained by André Michaux on his expedition to Lac Mistassini), but Hooker's was the first to concentrate on British North America. Although Hooker did not visit North America himself, he had



access to many newly collected specimens from many parts of present-day Canada (Zeller 1987; Pringle in press and references cited therein).

Many of Hooker's specimens from Lower Canada were sent to him by a coterie of individuals prominent in Québec society. In addition to Lady Dalhousie, these included Anne Mary Perceval, née Flower, wife of the collector of customs for Québec, William Sheppard, a Québec businessman, and Mrs. Sheppard, née Harriet Campbell. All were active in the founding and activities of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and all botanized, often together, in natural habitats in Sillery and other localities in the vicinity of Québec City (LeMoine 1882; Pringle 1986, in press and references cited therein; Zeller 1987; Duchesne & Carle 1990).

### **Description of the Collection at the Royal Botanical Gardens**

Most of the specimens acquired by the R.B.G. are mounted with narrow strips of paper that are glued to the interior recto surface of folded sheets of paper ca.  $16 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$  inches (ca.  $42.8 \times 31.6$  cm), the surface after folding being ca.  $8 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$  inches (ca.  $21.4 \times 31.6$  cm). A few specimens are loose in the folders. Although all of the paper is similar in appearance and texture, there is a surprising diversity of watermarks. Probably the best known to antiquarians is J. Whatman Turkey Mill 1822 (with arms featuring a seated Ancient Greek warrior, with shield and spear); others are T. Barratt 1825 (with arms featuring a lion standing upright, in face view, holding a sceptre, in an oval surmounted by a crown); Brocklesby & Morbey 1823; Brocklesby & Morbey 1825; J. Budgen 1820 (this and the next with the lion noted above); J. Budgen 1825; Munn & Stephens 1824 (and arms with the Greek warrior noted above); J. Rump 1825; and WW&I (with a crest; paper gilt-edged). The genus name is written in the upper right corner of the outside of the folder; the full scientific name of the species (but without the author's name) appears in the upper right corner of the surface on which the specimen is mounted; and the date and locality data, when present, are generally in the lower right corner, all in the same handwriting. Although some genera are represented by more than one specimen, none of the folders is a genus cover; each contains only one mounted specimen (or rarely two mounted on the same sheet). Twenty-four specimens, grouped together when they were acquired by the R.B.G., lack any identifications. These may have been collected (or in the case of those marked "A.," discussed below, acquired) by Lady Dalhousie later than those that were identified, or in some cases left unidentified because they represented especially "difficult" genera such as *Carex*.

Of those specimens that bear locality data, by far the majority were obtained at Sorel, Lower Canada. Sorel, ca. 70 km downriver from Montréal, was the site of the summer residence of the Governor-in-Chief, at which the Earl, who detested Québec City, and the Countess spent as much time as possible. The Earl had plans drawn up for a much larger official viceregal summer residence at Sorel, and personally purchased fifty acres there in 1821 (Burroughs 1988). The Percevals were frequent guests of Lord and



**Table 1. List of specimens from the herbarium of Lady Dalhousie, listed alphabetically by original identification, with dates and localities of collection and modern identifications by the present author.\***

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Acer</i>	—	—	<i>Acer saccharinum</i> L.
<i>Acer</i>	—	—	<i>Acer saccharinum</i> L.
<i>Acer</i>	St. Ann	26 Sept 1826	<i>Acer saccharum</i> Marsh. var. <i>saccharum</i>
<i>Acer montanum</i>	—	—	<i>Acer spicatum</i> Lam.
<i>Acer striatum</i>	Sorel	25 May 1827	<i>Acer pensylvanicum</i> L.
<i>Acer striatum</i>	A. —	—	<i>Acer pensylvanicum</i> L.
<i>Actaea</i>	—	—	<i>Actaea rubra</i> (Aiton) Willd.
<i>Actaea rubra</i>	—	23 May 1827	<i>Actaea rubra</i> (Aiton) Willd.
<i>Adiantum pedatum</i>	A. Sorel	June 1826	<i>Adiantum pedatum</i> L. var. <i>pedatum</i>
<i>Amphicarpa</i>	—	—	<i>Amphicarpa bracteata</i> (L.) Fern.
<i>Andromeda calyculata</i>	Sorel	16 May 1827	<i>Chamaedaphne calyculata</i> (L.) Moench
<i>Anemone pensylvanica</i>	A. Sorel	1826	<i>Anemone canadensis</i> L.
<i>Anemone virginiana</i>	—	27 July [no year]	<i>Anemone virginiana</i> L.
<i>Anthemis arvensis</i>	Sorel	28 July 1827	<i>Anthemis arvensis</i> L.
<i>Apios tuberosa</i>	Sorel	22 August 1827	<i>Apios americana</i> Medik. var. <i>americana</i>
<i>Apocynum androsaemifolium</i>	A. —	—	<i>Apocynum androsaemifolium</i> L.
<i>Apocynum cannabinum</i>	Sorel	July 1827	<i>Apocynum cannabinum</i> L.
<i>Aralia racemosa</i>	Sorel	30 July 1827	<i>Aralia racemosa</i> L.
<i>Arbutus uva-ursi</i>	—	—	<i>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</i> (L.) Spreng. var. <i>coactilis</i> Fern. & J.F. Macbr.
<i>Arethusa bulbosa</i>	—	—	<i>Arethusa bulbosa</i> L.
<i>Arethusa bulbosa</i>	Sorel	June 1826	<i>Arethusa bulbosa</i> L.
<i>Aronia</i>	—	—	<i>Amelanchier bartramiana</i> (Tausch.) Roem.
<i>Aronia</i>	—	—	<i>Amelanchier bartramiana</i> (Tausch.) Roem.
<i>Aronia</i>	—	—	<i>Amelanchier laevis</i> Wieg.
<i>Aronia</i>	—	—	<i>Amelanchier laevis</i> Wieg.
<i>Asarum canadense</i>	Sorel	28 May 1827	<i>Asarum canadense</i> L. var. <i>canadense</i>
<i>Asarum canadense</i>	—	—	<i>Asarum canadense</i> L. var. <i>canadense</i>
<i>Asclepias tuberosa</i>	A. UpperCanada	1826	<i>Asclepias tuberosa</i> L. ssp. <i>tuberosa</i>
<i>Aspidium</i>	—	—	<i>Dryopteris intermedia</i> (Muhl. ex Willd.) A. Gray
<i>Aspidium</i>	—	—	folder empty
<i>Aspidium achrostichoides</i> [sic]	—	—	<i>Polystichum acrostichoides</i> (Michx.) Schott
<i>Aspidium bulbiferum</i>	—	11 August 1827	<i>Cystopteris bulbifera</i> (L.) Bernh.
<i>Aspidium bulbiferum</i>	—	—	<i>Cystopteris bulbifera</i> (L.) Bernh.
<i>Aspidium bulbiferum</i>	—	11 August 1827	<i>Cystopteris bulbifera</i> (L.) Bernh.
<i>Aster</i>	Sorel	September 1827	<i>Aster cordifolius</i> L. var. <i>cordifolius</i>



Table 1. (Continued)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Aster</i>	Sorel	September 1827	<i>Aster lanceolatus</i> Willd. ssp. <i>lanceolatus</i> var. <i>lanceolatus</i>
<i>Aster</i>	—	—	<i>Aster macrophyllus</i> L.
<i>Aster</i>	—	—	<i>Aster puniceus</i> L. var. <i>puniceus</i>
<i>Aster</i>	—	—	<i>Aster puniceus</i> L. var. <i>puniceus</i>
<i>Aster</i>	—	—	<i>Aster puniceus</i> L. var. <i>puniceus</i>
<i>Aster</i>	—	—	<i>Aster puniceus</i> L. var. <i>puniceus</i>
<i>Aster acuminatus</i>	Sorel	September 1827	<i>Aster acuminatus</i> Michx.
<i>Aster cordata</i> [sic]	Sorel	30 August 1827	<i>Aster cordifolius</i> L. var. <i>cordifolius</i>
<i>Aster patens</i>	Sorel	August & September 1827	<i>Aster novae-angliae</i> L.
<i>Aster rigida</i> [sic]	Sorel	12 September 1827	<i>Aster linariifolius</i> L.
<i>Aster uniflorus</i>	—	—	<i>Aster nemoralis</i> Aiton
<i>Bidens</i>	—	—	<i>Bidens frondosa</i> L.
<i>Bidens</i>	—	—	<i>Bidens tripartita</i> L. s. lat.
<i>Botrychium fumarioides</i>	—	—	<i>Botrychium multifidum</i> (J.F. Gmel.) Rupr. var. <i>multifidum</i>
<i>Botrychium virginianum</i>	—	6 July 1827	<i>Botrychium virginianum</i> (L.) Sw. var. <i>virginianum</i>
<i>Bunias edentula</i>	—	25 July 1828	<i>Cakile edentula</i> (Bigel.) Hook. ssp. <i>edentula</i>
<i>Campanula aparinoides</i>	Sorel	20 July 1827	<i>Campanula aparinoides</i> Pursh var. <i>grandiflora</i> Holz
<i>Campanula rotundifolia</i>	Grand Falls of the Chaudiere of the Ottawa	25 Sept 1827	<i>Campanula rotundifolia</i> L.
<i>Cardamine</i>	—	—	<i>Cardamine pensylvanica</i> L.
<i>Caulophyllum thalictroides</i>	Quebec	27 May 1827	<i>Caulophyllum thalictroides</i> (L.) Michx. var. <i>giganteum</i> Far w.
<i>Celastrus scandens</i>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Celastrus scandens</i> L.
<i>Cephalanthus occidentalis</i>	Sorel	10 August 1827	<i>Cephalanthus occidentalis</i> L.
<i>Chelone glabra</i>	Sorel	8 August 1827	<i>Chelone glabra</i> L.
<i>Chimaphylla</i> [sic] <i>umbellata</i>	Sorel	18 July [no year]	<i>Chimaphila umbellata</i> (L.) Bart. var. <i>cisatlantica</i> Blake
<i>Chimaphylla</i> [sic] <i>umbellata</i>	Riviere du Loup	24 July 1828	<i>Chimaphila umbellata</i> (L.) Bart. var. <i>cisatlantica</i> Blake
<i>Circaea lutetiana</i>	—	—	<i>Circaea lutetiana</i> L. var. <i>canadensis</i> L.
<i>Cissus hederacea</i>	Sorel	27 July 1827	<i>Parthenocissus inserta</i> (A. Kerner) Fritsch
<i>Claytonia virginiana</i>	A. Sorel	May 1826	<i>Claytonia caroliniana</i> Michx.
<i>Clematis</i>	Sorel	1827	<i>Clematis integrifolia</i> L.



Table 1. (Continued)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Clematis</i>	—	—	<i>Clematis integrifolia</i> L.
<i>Convallaria</i>	Sorel	27 May 1827	<i>Polygonatum pubescens</i> (Willd.) Pursh
<i>Convallaria</i>	Sorel	27 May 1827	<i>Polygonatum pubescens</i> (Willd.) Pursh
<i>Convallaria trifolia</i>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Maianthemum trifolium</i> (L.) Sloboda
<i>Convallaria trifolia</i>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Maianthemum trifolium</i> (L.) Sloboda
<i>Convolvulus sepium</i>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Calystegia sepium</i> (L.) R.Br. ssp. <i>americana</i> (Sims) Brummitt
<i>Convolvulus stans</i>	Sorel	15 June 1827	<i>Calystegia spithameus</i> (L.) Pursh ssp. <i>spithameus</i>
<i>Coptis trifolia</i>	—	16 May 1827	<i>Coptis trifolia</i> (L.) Salisb. var. <i>groenlandica</i> (Fern.) Fassett
<i>Coptis trifolia</i>	—	16 May 1827	<i>Coptis trifolia</i> (L.) Salisb. var. <i>groenlandica</i> (Fern.) Fassett
<i>Cornus</i>	A. —	—	<i>Cornus alternifolia</i> L.fil.
<i>Cornus</i>	—	—	<i>Cornus stolonifera</i> Michx. var. <i>stolonifera</i>
<i>Cornus canadensis</i>	Sorel	6 June 1827	<i>Cornus canadensis</i> L.
<i>Corydalis</i>	—	—	<i>Adlumia fungosa</i> (Aiton) Greene ex B.S.P.
<i>Corydalis glauca</i>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Corydalis sempervirens</i> (L.) Pers.
<i>Crataegus</i>	—	28 May 1827	<i>Crataegus chrysoarpa</i> Ashe var. <i>chrysoarpa</i>
<i>Crataegus</i>	Sorel	28 May 1827	<i>Crataegus schuettei</i> Ashe var. <i>basilica</i> (Beadle) Phipps
<i>Cynoglossum</i>	—	—	<i>Cynoglossum officinale</i> L.
<i>Cypripedium arietinum</i>	Sorel	28 May 1827	<i>Cypripedium arietinum</i> R.Br.
<i>Cypripedium humile</i>	A. Sorel	May 1826	<i>Cypripedium acaule</i> Aiton
<i>Cypripedium parviflorum</i>	Sorel	29 May 1827	<i>Cypripedium calceolus</i> L. var. <i>parviflorum</i> (Salisb.) Fern.
<i>Cypripedium pubescens</i>	A. —	—	<i>Cypripedium calceolus</i> L. var. <i>pubescens</i> (Willd.) Correll
<i>Cypripedium pubescens</i>	Quebec	June 1827	<i>Cypripedium calceolus</i> L. var. <i>pubescens</i> (Willd.) Correll
<i>Cypripedium spectabile</i>	Sorel	16 June [no year]	<i>Cypripedium reginae</i> Walt.
<i>Cymbidium pulchellum</i>	—	1 July 1827	<i>Calopogon tuberosum</i> (L.) B.S.P.
<i>Cymbidium pulchellum</i>	Sorel	13 July 1827	<i>Calopogon tuberosum</i> (L.) B.S.P.
<i>Dicksonia pilosiuscula</i>	Sorel	12 July 1827	<i>Dennstaedtia punctilobula</i> (Michx.) Moore
<i>Dicksonia pilosiuscula</i>	—	—	<i>Dennstaedtia punctilobula</i> (Michx.) Moore
<i>Diervilla lutea</i>	Sorel	19 June 1827	<i>Diervilla lonicera</i> Mill.
<i>Digittaria</i> [sic]	—	—	<i>Digitaria ischaemum</i> ( Schreber ex Schwein.) Muhl.
<i>Dracaena borealis</i>	A. Sorel	25 May 1827	<i>Clintonia borealis</i> (Aiton) Raf.
<i>Epigaea repens</i>	Sorel	6 May 1827	<i>Epigaea repens</i> L.



Table 1. (Continued)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Equisetum scirpoides</i>	—	6 June 1828	<i>Equisetum scirpoides</i> Michx.
<i>Erythronium</i>	—	6 May 1827	<i>Erythronium americanum</i> Ker-Gawl. ssp. <i>americanum</i>
<i>Erythronium americanum</i>	—	6 May 1827	<i>Erythronium americanum</i> Ker-Gawl. ssp. <i>americanum</i>
<i>Eupatorium</i>	—	—	<i>Eupatorium maculatum</i> L. ssp. <i>maculatum</i> var. <i>maculatum</i>
<i>Eupatorium ageritoides</i> [sic]	Sorel	1 Sept 1827	<i>Eupatorium rugosum</i> Houtt. var. <i>rugosum</i>
<i>Galium</i>	—	—	<i>Galium palustre</i> L.
<i>Galium bermudianum</i>	—	1 July 1827	<i>Galium lanceolatum</i> Torr.
<i>Galium micranthum</i>	—	19 August 1827	<i>Galium asprellum</i> Michx.
<i>Galium tinctorum</i>	A. —	—	<i>Galium boreale</i> L. ssp. <i>boreale</i>
<i>Galium tinctorum</i>	—	19 August 1828	<i>Galium triflorum</i> Michx.
<i>Galium triflorum</i>	Sorel	30 June 1827	<i>Galium triflorum</i> Michx.
<i>Gaultheria procumbens</i>	—	16 July 1827	<i>Gaultheria procumbens</i> L.
<i>Gentiana amarelloides</i> vel <i>quinqueflora</i>	Sorel	3 September 1827	<i>Gentianella quinquefolia</i> (L.) Small var. <i>quinquefolia</i>
<i>Gentiana fimbriata</i>	Quebec	—	<i>Gentianopsis virgata</i> (Raf.) Holub s. lat. (also <i>Gentianopsis crinita</i> (Froel.) Ma, probably added later and not from Québec City area)
<i>Gentiana saponaria</i>	Sorel	27 August 1827	<i>Gentiana andrewsii</i> Griseb. var. <i>andrewsii</i>
<i>Gerardia flava</i>	Upper Canada	—	<i>Aureolaria pedicularia</i> (L.) Raf. var. <i>intercedens</i> Pennell
<i>Gerardia glauca</i> or <i>quercifolia</i>	A. Upper Canada	—	<i>Aureolaria virginica</i> (L.) Pennell
<i>Gerardia purpurea</i>	Sorel	30 August 1827	<i>Agalinis paupercula</i> (A. Gray) Britton var. <i>paupercula</i>
<i>Geum album</i>	Sorel	20 June 1827	<i>Geum canadense</i> Jacq.
<i>Geum rivale</i>	—	June 1827	<i>Geum rivale</i> L.
<i>Geum strictum</i>	Sorel	27 June 1827	<i>Geum aleppicum</i> L. var. <i>strictum</i> Fern.
<i>Gnaphalium plantaginium</i>	Sorel	7 June 1827	<i>Antennaria neodioica</i> Greene ssp. <i>canadensis</i> (Greene) Bayer & Stebbins
<i>Gnaphalium uliginosum</i>	Sorel	August 1827	<i>Gnaphalium uliginosum</i> L.
<i>Gratiola</i>	—	—	<i>Gratiola neglecta</i> Torr. var. <i>neglecta</i>
<i>Gratiola</i>	—	—	<i>Gratiola neglecta</i> Torr. var. <i>neglecta</i>
<i>Hedysarum acuminatum</i>	Sorel	16 July 1827	<i>Desmodium glutinosum</i> (Muhl. ex Willd.) Wood
<i>Hedysarum canadense</i>	—	—	<i>Desmodium canadense</i> (L.) DC.
<i>Hepatica triloba</i>	Quebec	29 April 1827	<i>Hepatica acutiloba</i> DC.
<i>Hieracium</i>	—	—	<i>Hieracium canadense</i> Michx. var. <i>canadense</i>
<i>Hieracium</i>	—	—	<i>Hieracium canadense</i> Michx. var. <i>canadense</i>



Table 1. (Continued)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Hieracium</i>	—	—	<i>Hieracium canadense</i> Michx. var. <i>canadense</i>
<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i>	—	—	<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i> L.
<i>Hypericum</i>	—	—	<i>Hypericum canadense</i> Michx.
<i>Hypericum</i>	Sorel	31 August 1827	<i>Triadenum fraseri</i> (Spach) Gleason
<i>Hypericum</i>	—	—	<i>Triadenum fraseri</i> (Spach) Gleason
<i>Hypericum canadense</i>	Sorel	13 August 1827	<i>Hypericum boreale</i> (Britton) Bicknell
<i>Hypoxis erecta</i>	A. Upper Canada	1826	<i>Hypoxis hirsuta</i> (L.) Coville
<i>Ilex canadensis</i>	—	6 June 1828	<i>Nemopanthus mucronatus</i> (L.) Loesel
<i>Iris virginica</i>	—	12 June 1827	<i>Iris versicolor</i> L.
<i>Jeffersonia dyphylla</i> [sic]. Leaf	A. —	—	folder empty
<i>Lathyrus</i>	A. —	—	<i>Lathyrus japonicus</i> Willd.
<i>Lathyrus myrtifolius</i>	Sorel	6 August 1827	<i>Lathyrus palustris</i> L.
<i>Lathyrus palustris</i>	—	20 July 1827	<i>Lathyrus palustris</i> L.
<i>Lilium</i>	Sorel	July [no year]	<i>Lilium canadense</i> L. s. str.
<i>Lindernia dilatata</i>	Sorel	13 August 1827	<i>Lindernia dubia</i> (L.) Pennell
<i>Lobelia</i>	—	—	<i>Lobelia kalmii</i> L.
<i>Lobelia cardinalis</i>	Sorel	20 July 1827	<i>Lobelia cardinalis</i> L. ssp. <i>cardinalis</i> var. <i>cardinalis</i>
<i>Lobelia cardinalis</i>	Sorel	20 July 1827	<i>Lobelia cardinalis</i> L. ssp. <i>cardinalis</i> var. <i>cardinalis</i>
<i>Lobelia inflata</i>	Sorel	30 July 1827	<i>Lobelia inflata</i> L.
<i>Lobelia kalmii</i>	Quebec	August [no year]	<i>Lobelia kalmii</i> L.
<i>Lobelia kalmii</i>	St. Ann on Ottawa	24 September 1827	<i>Lobelia kalmii</i> L.
<i>Lonicera</i>	—	—	<i>Lonicera dioica</i> L. var. <i>orientalis</i> Gleason
<i>Lonicera</i>	—	—	<i>Lonicera dioica</i> L. var. <i>orientalis</i> Gleason
<i>Lycopodium annotinum</i>	Sorel	31 July 1827	<i>Lycopodium annotinum</i> L. var. <i>annotinum</i>
<i>Lycopodium dendroideum</i>	Sorel	19 August 1827	<i>Lycopodium dendroideum</i> Michx.
<i>Lycopus americana</i>	Sorel	1 August 1827	<i>Lycopus americana</i> Muhl. ex J. Bartram
<i>Lysimachia</i>	—	—	<i>Lysimachia ciliata</i> L.
<i>Lysimachia capitata</i>	—	—	<i>Lysimachia thyrsiflora</i> L.
<i>Lysimachia racemosa</i>	—	21 July 1828	<i>Lysimachia terrestris</i> (L.) B.S.P.
<i>Melampyrum americanum</i>	—	27 July 1827	<i>Melampyrum lineare</i> Desr. var. <i>americanum</i> (Michx.) Beauv.
<i>Melanthium glaucum</i>	—	—	<i>Zigadenus elegans</i> Pursh ssp. <i>glaucum</i> Hultén
"the leaves are twice as long as the specimen [illegible abbr.] had been eaten by cattle"			
<i>Mentha</i>	—	—	<i>Mentha arvensis</i> L.
<i>Mentha</i>	—	—	<i>Mentha arvensis</i> L.
<i>Menyanthes trifolia</i> [sic]	Sorel	21 May 1827	<i>Menyanthes trifoliata</i> L.
<i>Mimulus ringens</i>	Sorel	26 July 1827	<i>Mimulus ringens</i> L. var. <i>ringens</i>
<i>Mitchella repens</i>	Sorel	30 June 1827	<i>Mitchella repens</i> L.
<i>Mitella cordifolia</i>	Sorel	5 June [no year]	<i>Mitella nuda</i> L.



Table 1. (Continued)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Mitella diphylla</i>	—	26 May 1827	<i>Mitella diphylla</i> L.
<i>Monarda</i>	—	—	<i>Monarda fistulosa</i> L.
<i>Monarda</i>	—	—	<i>Monarda fistulosa</i> L.
<i>Myosotis lappula</i>	—	21 July 1827	<i>Lappula squarrosa</i> (Retz.) Dumort. ssp. <i>squarrosa</i>
<i>Myrrhis canadensis</i>	—	14 June 1828	<i>Osmorhiza claytonii</i> (Michx.) C.B. Clarke
<i>Neotia</i> [sic]	A. Lake Simcoe	—	<i>Spiranthes romanzoffiana</i> Cham.
<i>Neotia</i> [sic] <i>aestivalis</i>	Sorel	30 August 1827	<i>Spiranthes cernua</i> (L.) Richard
<i>Neotia</i> [sic] <i>pubescens</i>	—	—	<i>Goodyera pubescens</i> (Willd.) R.Br.
<i>Nuphar lutea</i>	Sorel	19 June 1827	<i>Nuphar variegatum</i> Engelm.
<i>Oenothera</i>	—	—	<i>Oenothera fruticosa</i> L. ssp. <i>glauca</i> (Michx.) Straley
<i>Oenothera pusilla</i>	A. —	—	<i>Oenothera perennis</i> L.
<i>Onoclea sensibilis</i>	—	—	<i>Onoclea sensibilis</i> L.
<i>Orchis</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera blephariglottis</i> (Willd.) Lindl. var. <i>blephariglottis</i> (with a leaf of <i>Platanthera orbiculata</i> (Pursh) Lindl. var. <i>orbiculata</i> )
<i>Orchis</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera hookeri</i> (Torr.) Lindl.
<i>Orchis</i>	—	10 July 1827	<i>Platanthera hyperborea</i> (L.) Lindl. var. <i>huronensis</i> (Nutt.) Luer
<i>Orchis</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera hyperborea</i> (L.) Lindl. var. <i>huronensis</i> (Nutt.) Luer
<i>Orchis</i>	A. —	—	<i>Platanthera lacera</i> (Michx.) G. Don var. <i>lacera</i> (folder also contains <i>Helenium</i> <i>autumnale</i> L.)
<i>Orchis</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera orbiculata</i> (Pursh) Lindl. var. <i>orbiculata</i>
<i>Orchis</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera orbiculata</i> (Pursh) Lindl. var. <i>orbiculata</i>
<i>Orchis</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera orbiculata</i> (Pursh) Lindl. var. <i>orbiculata</i>
<i>Orchis dilatata</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera dilatata</i> (Pursh) Lindl.
<i>Orchis discolor</i> ??	—	21 July 1828	<i>Amerorchis rotundifolia</i> (Banks ex Pursh) Hultén
<i>Orchis grandiflora</i>	Quebec	June [no year]	<i>Galearis spectabilis</i> (L.) Raf.
<i>Orchis orbiculata</i>	—	—	<i>Platanthera orbiculata</i> (Pursh) Lindl. var. <i>orbiculata</i>
<i>Osmunda interrupta</i>	Sorel	4 June 1827	<i>Osmunda claytoniana</i> L.
<i>Pedicularis canadensis</i>	Quebec	26 May 1827	folder empty
<i>Penthorum sedoides</i>	Sorel	14 July 1827	<i>Penthorum sedoides</i> L.
<i>Phryma</i>	—	—	<i>Phryma leptostachya</i> L.
<i>Pogonia ophioglossoides</i>	Sorel	13 July 1827	<i>Pogonia ophioglossoides</i> (L.) Juss.



Table 1. (Continued)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Pogonia ophioglossoides</i>	Sorel	13 July 1827	<i>Pogonia ophioglossoides</i> (L.) Juss.
<i>Polygala senega</i>	A. Upper Canada	1826	<i>Polygala senega</i> L. var. <i>senega</i>
<i>Polygala pauciflora</i> [sic] (also labeled <i>Polygala paucifolia</i> )	A. Upper Canada	1826	<i>Polygala paucifolia</i> Willd.
<i>Polygonum</i>	—	—	<i>Polygonum lapathifolium</i> L.
<i>Polygonum</i>	—	—	<i>Polygonum persicaria</i> L.
<i>Polygonum</i>	—	—	<i>Polygonum punctatum</i> L.
<i>Polygonum</i>	—	—	<i>Polygonum virginianum</i> L.
<i>Polypodium calcareum</i> ?	Sorel	27 June [no year]	<i>Gymnocarpium dryopteris</i> (L.) Newm.
<i>Potentilla</i>	Sorel	28 August 1827	<i>Potentilla pensylvanica</i> L.
<i>Potentilla norvegica</i>	—	28 June [no year]	<i>Potentilla norvegica</i> L.
<i>Prenanthes racemosa</i>	—	—	<i>Prenanthes racemosa</i> Michx.
<i>Prinos</i>	—	—	<i>Ilex verticillata</i> (L.) A. Gray
<i>Pteris aquilina</i>	—	—	<i>Pteridium aquilinum</i> (L.) Kuhn var. <i>latiusculum</i> (Desv.) Underw. ex Heller
<i>Pulmonaria parviflora</i>	A. Halifax, on seashore	August 1826	<i>Mertensia maritima</i> (L.) S.F. Gray
<i>Pyrola elliptica</i>	Sorel	2 July 1827	<i>Pyrola elliptica</i> Nutt.
<i>Pyrola minor</i>	—	6 July 1827	<i>Pyrola minor</i> L.
<i>Pyrola rotundifolia</i>	A. Halifax	August 1826	<i>Pyrola rotundifolia</i> Radius var. <i>americana</i> (Sweet) Fern.
<i>Pyrola uniflora</i>	Sorel	30 June 1827	<i>Moneses uniflora</i> (L.) A. Gray
<i>Quercus</i>	—	—	<i>Quercus macrocarpa</i> Michx.
<i>Ranunculus</i>	—	—	<i>Ranunculus pensylvanicus</i> L. fil.
<i>Ranunculus abortivus</i>	A. Sorel	June 1826	<i>Ranunculus abortivus</i> L.
<i>Ranunculus cymbalaria</i>	A. Cascapedia	17 August 1826	<i>Ranunculus cymbalaria</i> Pursh
<i>Ranunculus cymbalaria</i>	—	21 July 1828	<i>Ranunculus cymbalaria</i> Pursh
<i>Ranunculus filiformis</i>	Sorel	28 July 1827	<i>Ranunculus reptans</i> L.
<i>Ranunculus repens</i>	—	20 June 1827	<i>Ranunculus repens</i> L.
<i>Rhus typhinum</i> [sic]	Sorel	1827	<i>Rhus typhina</i> L.
<i>Ribes</i>	Upper Canada	—	<i>Ribes odoratum</i> H.L. Wendl.
<i>Ribes oxyacanthoides</i>	—	1 June 1827	<i>Ribes hirtellum</i> Michx.
<i>Rosa</i>	A. —	—	<i>Rosa blanda</i> Aiton
<i>Rosa</i>	—	—	<i>Rosa blanda</i> Aiton
<i>Rubus</i>	—	—	<i>Rubus pubescens</i> Raf.
<i>Rubus idaeus</i> <sup>7</sup>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Rubus idaeus</i> L.
<i>Rubus saxatilis</i>	Sorel	1827	<i>Rubus pubescens</i> Raf.
<i>Sagittaria sagittifolia</i>	—	—	<i>Sagittaria latifolia</i> Willd.
<i>Salix</i>	—	—	<i>Salix bebbiana</i> Sarg.
<i>Salix</i>	—	—	<i>Salix bebbiana</i> Sarg.
<i>Salix</i>	—	—	<i>Salix discolor</i> Muhl.
<i>Salix</i>	Sorel	July 1827	<i>Salix humilis</i> Marsh.
<i>Salix cordata</i>	Sorel	1827	<i>Salix eriocephala</i> Michx.
<i>Sambucus canadensis</i>	Sorel	13 July 1827	<i>Sambucus canadensis</i> L.
<i>Sanguisorba</i>	Quebec	—	<i>Sanguisorba canadensis</i> L.
<i>Sanguisorba canadensis</i>	—	—	<i>Sanguisorba canadensis</i> L.
<i>Sanicula marilandica</i>	—	—	<i>Sanicula marilandica</i> L.
<i>Scrophularia</i>	—	—	<i>Scrophularia lanceolata</i>



Table 1. (Concluded)

Original identification	Locality	Date	Present Identification
<i>Scrophularia marilandica</i>	Sorel	18 July 1827	Pursh <i>Scrophularia lanceolata</i>
<i>Scutellaria lateriflora</i>	Sorel	24 July 1827	Pursh <i>Scutellaria lateriflora</i> L.
<i>Scutellaria parvula</i>	Sorel	2 July 1827	<i>Scutellaria parvula</i> Michx.
<i>Silene</i>	—	—	<i>Silene latifolia</i> Poir.
<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	Sorel	1827	<i>Solanum ptycanthum</i> Dunal ex DC.
<i>Solidago</i>	—	—	<i>Solidago altissima</i> L.
<i>Solidago</i>	—	—	<i>Solidago gigantea</i> Aiton
<i>Solidago</i>	—	—	<i>Solidago rugosa</i> Aiton ssp. <i>rugosa</i>
<i>Solidago</i>	—	—	<i>Solidago uliginosa</i> Nutt.
<i>Spergula</i>	—	—	<i>Spergula arvensis</i> L.
<i>Spiraea opulifolia</i>	A. Sorel	June 1826	<i>Physocarpus opulifolius</i> (L.) Maxim.
<i>Spiraea tomentosa</i>	Sorel	28 July 1827	<i>Spiraea tomentosa</i> L.
<i>Thlapsi</i> [sic] <i>campestris</i> [sic]	—	12 June 1828	<i>Thlaspi arvense</i> L.
<i>Tipularia ophioglossoides</i>	—	—	<i>Malaxis unifolia</i> Michx.
<i>Trientalis americana</i>	Sorel	1 June 1827	<i>Trientalis borealis</i> Raf. ssp. <i>borealis</i>
<i>Trifolium arvense</i>	—	13 August 1828	<i>Trifolium arvense</i> L.
<i>Trifolium repens</i>	Sorel	19 July 1827	<i>Trifolium repens</i> L.
<i>Trillium erectum</i>	—	—	—
<i>atropurpureum</i>	A. Sorel	May 1826	<i>Trillium erectum</i> L. f. <i>erectum</i>
<i>Trillium pictum</i>	—	—	<i>Trillium undulatum</i> Willd.
<i>Trillium</i> a variety of <i>T. pictum</i> ???	A. Sorel	May 1826	<i>Trillium undulatum</i> Willd.
<i>Utricularia</i>	—	—	<i>Utricularia vulgaris</i> L.
<i>Vaccinium</i>	—	—	<i>Vaccinium myrtilloides</i> Michx.
<i>Vaccinium resinolum</i>	Sorel	May 1827	<i>Gaylussacia baccata</i> (Wang.) K. Koch
<i>Vaccinium vitis-idaea</i>	—	23 July 1828	<i>Vaccinium vitis-idaea</i> L. ssp. <i>minus</i> (Lodd.) Hultén
<i>Veratrum</i> [sic] <i>viride</i>	—	19 June 1828	<i>Veratrum viride</i> Aiton
<i>Verbena urticifolia</i>	Sorel	July 1827	<i>Verbena urticifolia</i> L.
<i>Veronica anagallis</i>	—	12 June 1828	<i>Veronica americana</i> (Raf.) Schwein. ex Benth.
<i>Veronica beccabunga</i>	—	17 June 1828	<i>Veronica beccabunga</i> L. ssp. <i>beccabunga</i>
<i>Veronica beccabunga</i>	—	17 June 1828	<i>Veronica beccabunga</i> L. ssp. <i>beccabunga</i>
<i>Veronica scutellata</i>	Sorel	29 June 1827	<i>Veronica scutellata</i> L.
<i>Veronica serpyllifolia</i>	Sorel	June 1827	<i>Veronica serpyllifolia</i> L. ssp. <i>serpyllifolia</i>
<i>Viburnum prunifolium</i>	—	13 June 1827	<i>Viburnum cassinoides</i> L.
<i>Vicia sativa</i>	Sorel	23 July 1827	<i>Vicia sativa</i> L. s. str.
<i>Viola</i>	A. Sorel	May 1826	<i>Viola cucullata</i> Aiton
<i>Viola</i> ?	—	—	<i>Viola renifolia</i> A. Gray
<i>Viola pubescens</i>	Sorel	20 May 1827	<i>Viola pubescens</i> Aiton s. lat.
<i>Viola pubescens</i>	—	30 May 1828	<i>Viola pubescens</i> Aiton s. lat.
<i>Viola rostrata</i>	A. —	30 May 1828	<i>Viola conspersa</i> Reichb.
<i>Woodsia hyperborea</i>	Fall of St. Ann	4 July 1827	<i>Woodsia ilvensis</i> (L.) R.Br.

\*Classification and nomenclature in Tables 1 and 2 largely follow Morton & Venn (1990) and Gleason & Cronquist (1991). Names in these tables can be equated with their synonyms in older standard floras by consulting these works.



**Table 2. Specimens from the herbarium of Lady Dalhousie not identified by her, listed as identified by the present author.**

Original Identification	Locality	Date
<i>Arabis drummondii</i> A. Gray		
<i>Athyrium filix-femina</i> (L.) Roth var. <i>michauxii</i> Mett.		
<i>Carex</i> sp.? [no flowers or fruits]		
<i>Carex interior</i> Bailey		
<i>Cerastium arvense</i> L.	A. L'Islet	11 June 1824
<i>Conium maculatum</i> L.		
<i>Dryopteris cristata</i> (L.) A. Gray s. str.		
<i>Euphorbia corollata</i> L.		
<i>Festuca pratensis</i> Huds.		
<i>Hedyotis canadensis</i> (Willd.) Fosb.		
<i>Helianthemum canadense</i> (L.) Michx.		
<i>Liatris cylindracea</i> Michx.		
<i>Osmorhiza claytonii</i> (Michx.) C.B. Clarke		
<i>Panax trifolius</i> L.		
<i>Pastinaca sativa</i> L.		
<i>Pterospora andromedea</i> Nutt.		
<i>Salsola kali</i> L. ssp. <i>ruthenica</i> (Iljin) Soó		
<i>Scirpus microcarpus</i> Presl var. <i>rubrotinctus</i> (Fern.) M.E. Jones		
<i>Scutellaria lateriflora</i> L.		
<i>Stachys tenuifolia</i> Willd.		
<i>Thelypteris noveboracensis</i> (L.) Nieuwl.		
<i>Tofieldia glutinosa</i> (Michx.) Pers. var. <i>glutinosa</i>		
<i>Vicia tetrasperma</i> (L.) Moench		
<i>Viola canadensis</i> L.		

Lady Dalhousie at their summer residence. Sorel was also the site of the country home of Robert Cleghorn and his wife, née Eliza Power, and the home town of her antonomastically named family, several members of which were prominent in the nineteenth-century politics and economy of Lower Canada. Since 1810 Cleghorn had operated a nursery, Blink Bonny Gardens, in Montréal, on a site now opposite the main entrance to McGill University. He is believed to have been Canada's second commercial nurseryman, and his crabapple selections, at least one of which is still in cultivation, are believed to have been the first cultivars of any genus to have been selected and named in Canada. He was one of Hooker's most valuable correspondents in Lower Canada, many of his specimens being cited in the *Flora Boreali-Americana*. He also provided a home for the botanist Frederick Pursh during the latter's last illness. Lord and Lady Dalhousie were good friends of the Cleghorns and always visited them when they were in Montréal (Starke 1897-1898; Oliver 1967; Pringle 1986, in press).

A few specimens bearing the same date as specimens from Sorel may likewise be assumed to have been obtained at Sorel, e.g., *Erythronium americanum* Ker-Gawl., without locality, collected on the same date as *Epigaea repens* L. from Sorel. Otherwise, however, the specimens without locality data were collected during blocks of consecutive dates, when it is likely that Lady Dalhousie had returned to Québec City. Such specimens were prob-



ably all collected in that area. One might reasonably assume that Lady Dalhousie added locality data when specimens were obtained at localities away from her principal residence and the usual botanizing haunts of the Québec naturalists mentioned above. This interpretation is compatible with the known distribution of the species represented. As is often the case with early botanical specimens, the quality of the locality data varies inversely with the distance from the collector's residence, and the few specimens from present-day Ontario generally bear data no more precise than "Upper Canada."

The wooded portions of the Perceval, Sheppard, and other estates at Sillery, just west of Québec City, were undoubtedly important botanizing sites for Lady Dalhousie, as they were for Hooker's other correspondents in that area (see Pringle 1986, p. 10). Gomin Wood and Gomin Bog, a short distance to the west of these estates, were probably also important as sources of the specimens discussed here. LeMoine (1882, pp. 368-372), describing an imaginary botanizing expedition in the woodlands of Sillery with Lady Dalhousie or at least guided by her notebook, mentioned many bog plants known from Gomin Bog, most of which are represented in this collection.

The two specimens of *Clematis integrifolia* L. probably represent a cultivated plant, but otherwise all specimens represent either native species or naturalized species unlikely to have been in cultivation, and were in all probability collected in the wild. The collection dates of specimens bearing Canadian locality data are so closely spaced as to preclude Lady Dalhousie's having obtained any of the specimens without such data on a visit to the United Kingdom.

The abbreviation "A." appears immediately below the name of some specimens. This is not correlated with their geographic origin. Except for one specimen of *Clintonia borealis* (Ait.) Raf. and one of *Viola conspersa* Reichb., both collected in 1828, one of *Cerastium arvense* L. dated 1824, and a few undated specimens, all of these specimens were collected in 1826, whereas all dated specimens not so annotated were collected in 1827 or 1828; otherwise they appear to have nothing in common. "A." may stand for "Anne," indicating that the specimens were a gift from Mrs. Perceval.

The labeling indicates that the primary reference for the identification of these specimens was Pursh's (1813) *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*, which was then a standard reference among naturalists in the Canadas. The use of the names *Botrychium fumarioides* Willd. for *B. multifidum* (Gmel.) Rupr.; *Diervilla lutea* Pursh for *D. lonicera* Mill.; *Polypodium calcareum* Sw. for *Gymnocarpium dryopteris* (L.) Newm.; *Pulmonaria parviflora* Michx. for *Mertensia maritima* (L.) S.F. Gray; *Rubus saxatilis* L. for *R. pubescens* Raf.; and *Trillium pictum* Pursh for *T. undulatum* Willd. all indicate the use of Pursh's *Flora*, as does the designation of the typical colour-form of *Trillium erectum* L. as [var.] *atropurpureum* Pursh [authors' names added]. Torrey's (1823-1824) *A Flora of the Northern and Middle Sections of the United States* may also have been consulted for the identification of plants in families covered by that uncompleted work; for example, no other standard North American



flora of the time included *Amelanchier* in *Aronia*, nor was the generic name *Aronia* mentioned by Pursh. Familiarity with some species from older literature is indicated, e.g., by the use of the name *Convolvulus stans* Michx. for the species that both Pursh and Torrey (and later Hooker) designated *Calystegia spithameus* (L.) Pursh. The use of the name *Tipularia ophioglossoides* for *Malaxis unifolia* Michx. is not readily explicable; the specific epithet, from *Malaxis ophioglossoides* Muhl. ex Willd., is correctly associated with the species represented, but no author is known to have used it in *Tipularia*.

Although some specimens, especially in "difficult" genera, are identified only to genus, the identifications are otherwise remarkably accurate. The specimens identified only to genus were collected as early as those identified to species, rather than after some expert had identified the earlier collections. What expert assistance Lady Dalhousie and her friends in Québec may have had is uncertain, because only Sheppard published any papers on plants, and these contain no acknowledgments of such aid. Sheppard and Cleghorn, being friends of Pursh, would have benefitted from his knowledge in earlier years, but not directly in connection with these specimens, Pursh having died in 1820. Andrew Fernando Holmes had begun his botanical activities in the Montréal area a few years earlier and could also have assisted through Cleghorn. Lady Dalhousie possessed a substantial botanical library, as did Sheppard, and these naturalists may have identified all or most of these plants on their own. (On the botanists mentioned above see Pringle in press and references cited therein.)

It does not appear that the identifications could have been provided by Hooker. With the first fascicles of his *Flora Boreali-Americana* having been so close to publication, one would not expect identifications by him often to depart from the classification and nomenclature used in his *Flora*. Although some specimens contributed by Lady Dalhousie were cited in the *Flora Boreali-Americana*, it appears from Hooker's citations therein that few if any of the collections represented in this herbarium came to his attention. Few if any of these specimens, therefore, can be considered duplicates of those that document reports in Hooker's *Flora*. None represents any species described as new in the *Flora* by Hooker or his collaborators, so none is an isotype or similarly significant to nomenclature.

McCord (1864) published eighteen noteworthy records for fern species based on specimens collected by Lady Dalhousie, all from Sorel, presumably having studied the specimens then in the possession of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Not all of the species listed by McCord are represented among the specimens at the R.B.G. However, the wording of McCord's report, for example, "*Botrychium lunarioides* (Michx.) Sw." (=, as to the specimen discussed here, *B. multifidum* (Gmel.) Rupr.) from "Sorel, Lady Dalhousie, as *B. fumarioides*," indicates that the specimens at the R.B.G. include duplicates of some of the same collections.

Most early botanical specimens from Canada were taken or sent to Britain and Europe. The earliest from Canada (as presently bounded) known to be in any Canadian herbarium were returned to Canada in the 1880s.



These include 43 collected by Joseph Banks in 1766 and at least one collected by Francis Masson ca. 1800, in the herbarium of the National Museum of Nature (Darbyshire 1988; Shchepanek & Darbyshire 1990). Other early Canadian specimens repatriated about the same time, as noted by Shchepanek & Darbyshire (1990), had been obtained in present-day British Columbia by Archibald Menzies in 1786-1789 and by John Scouler in 1825-1827. Some of the specimens collected by Thomas Drummond and John Richardson mentioned by Shchepanek & Darbyshire may also date from 1825-1827. Other Canadian specimens in a Canadian herbarium that antedate those discussed here comprised the herbarium of Mrs. Perceval (above); these were collected in 1820, and are incorporated into the herbarium of the Biosystematics Research Centre, Agriculture Canada, Ottawa (Boivin 1980; Pringle 1986). Still other early Canadian specimens now in Canada are from the herbarium of Andrew Fernando Holmes, now in the herbarium of Macdonald College of McGill University, Saint-Anne-de-Bellevue; these include specimens collected by Holmes beginning in 1820, as well as two slightly earlier specimens given to him by John Goldie (Raymond 1954; Boivin 1980). Otherwise, no older specimens of Canadian plants are known to be in any Canadian herbaria. (A report by Boivin [1980] that there are specimens collected by Lady Dalhousie in the herbarium of Macdonald College of McGill University is evidently incorrect (Dr. Marcia J. Waterway, pers. comm. 1992.)

There are also several larger sheets of paper on which specimens are mounted. Four sheets accommodate one labeled specimen each, these respectively being *Arisaema triphyllum* (L.) Schott, from Spencer Wood, the Perceval estate in Sillery; *Linnaea borealis* L.; *Marchantia polymorpha* L., from Sorel; and *Mitchella repens* L. The others now or formerly held mixed, small specimens, one assemblage comprising leaves of trees, the other groups representing a genus, family, or higher category, according to the Linnaean system of classification used by Pursh. These specimens are mostly in poor condition and lack data.

The specimens are accompanied by two small booklets, made of smaller sheets of paper, folded in half and tied with a red ribbon at the crease. Both are in the same handwriting as that of the labels, presumably Lady Dalhousie's. One, simply titled "Index," lists about 500 plant species by scientific name, each with a four-digit number between 1700 and 2500. The plants listed are native to many different parts of the world, and include hardy and tender species. Since most are ornamental, such species might have been acquired by British connoisseurs of new horticultural introductions, who had extensive and well-staffed grounds and conservatories available for their collections; this might therefore have been a list of plants acquired for the gardens at Dalhousie Castle. The other booklet, entitled "Alphabetical list of plants natives of Canada" [sic] simply lists native plant species by scientific name, sometimes followed by a common name. There is rarely any other commentary, and the list is by no means complete even by the standards of its time; *Quercus*, for example, is represented only by the



generic name. Neither notebook appears to have any direct relationship to the herbarium specimens discussed here.

The R.B.G.'s acquisitions also include an album entitled "Specimens of Wild Leaves, such as they adorn His Majesty's Forests of Upper Canada," assembled by Mr. Samuel Chearnley (the album with the cover of marbled paper noted by Elwood 1987). According to *The Colonial Advocate* [York], Year 5, No. 170, Third Series, September 4, 1828, Samuel Chearnley was a native of Ireland and had received the degree of A.B. from Trinity College, Dublin. He was otherwise identified only as "a near relative of the late Sir Richard Musgrave, & brother of Anthony Chearnley, Esq. of Salterbridge, Watford, Ireland." He died at York [now Toronto] 1 September 1828 at the age of 72. He is not known to have corresponded with Hooker or with any other botanical author, nor otherwise to have contributed to floristic knowledge. Botanically this album is unimpressive, containing only leaves, small inflorescences, etc., now in rather poor condition, unidentified, and totally devoid of locality or other data. It appears to have been acquired by Lady Dalhousie before the project was finished, since the specimens in the first part of the book are affixed to the pages whereas many of those toward the end appear always to have been loose.

#### Notes on Specimens of Particular Interest

*Aureolaria virginica* (L.) Pennell (Scrophulariaceae). This specimen (Fig. 1), regrettably bearing no locality data more precise than "U. Canada," is by far the oldest specimen of this species from Canada. This species was not known by Pursh or Hooker to occur in British North America; the oldest Canadian specimen known to Soper (1962) dated from 1901. (Undocumented earlier reports that might have referred to this species must be considered ambiguous at best, because of the past confusion of this species with *A. flava* (L.) Farw.) Having been at its northern limits in southern Canada, it was always rare in this country and is now believed to be extirpated. From the records of the known Canadian distribution of *A. virginica*, compiled by Canne et al. (1983), it seems most likely that this specimen was obtained near Niagara Falls or Niagara-on-the-Lake.

*Gentianella quinquefolia* (L.) Small var. *quinquefolia* (Gentianaceae). This specimen (Fig. 2) from Sorel is the only record for Québec, and extends the known historic range for this rare species in Canada by nearly 300 km to the northeast (see map by Gillett & Keddy 1983). Nevertheless, since the species is not likely to have been cultivated; there is only one specimen mounted on the sheet; it is accompanied by both the locality datum and the date; and other specimens in the collection indicate that Lady Dalhousie botanized at Sorel immediately before and shortly after that date, it seems highly probable that the specimen was indeed found at Sorel.

*Veronica beccabunga* L. ssp. *beccabunga* (Scrophulariaceae). Les & Stuckey (1985) found no documentation of *V. beccabunga* as an adventive or naturalized species in North America prior to its discovery in New Jersey in 1876. Their earliest record for Canada, from Québec, dated from 1901. Earlier





*Aureolaria flava*  
Figure 1



*Gentianella quinqueflora*  
Figure 2



*Veronica beccabunga*  
Figure 3

reports are not reliable in the absence of documentation, because manuals did not distinguish this European species from the native *V. americana* (Raf.) Schwein. ex Benth. until the 1840s. Nevertheless, Marie-Victorin (1935) believed that *V. beccabunga* had probably been established on the banks of the St. Lawrence River in Québec since the French colonial period. It is regrettable that the specimens noted here (Fig. 3) lack locality data. However, since they are similar in size and quality to all the other specimens in the collection and are labeled in the same handwriting, it seems highly unlikely that these two specimens were collected elsewhere by someone else while Lady Dalhousie was in Canada. It also seems unlikely that *V. beccabunga* was cultivated in Canadian gardens during the 1820s. These specimens therefore appear to indicate that *V. beccabunga* was naturalized in the vicinity of Québec as early as 1828. There is no doubt as to their identity, because they clearly show the features of leaf shape and style length by which flowering specimens of *V. beccabunga* are most readily distinguished from *V. americana*. Like all of the more recent specimens from North America, these represent the nominate (European rather than Asiatic) subspecies.

Doyon & Lavoie's (1966) maps of plant distribution in Québec show gaps in the records for several species between the vicinity of Montréal and the vicinity of Québec City. Specimens from Sorel among those discussed here indicate that at least in some cases these were "collection gaps" rather than actual absences. Examples include *Galearis spectabilis* (L.) Raf. and *Desmodium glutinosum* Michx.

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## HISTORIC HERBARIUM SPECIMENS OF CULTIVATED PLANTS AT ELDON HOUSE, LONDON, ONTARIO<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

Albums at Eldon House in London, Ontario, contain historic herbarium specimens from the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and other gardens in the London, England, area, collected 1817-1822 by Robert Ronalds, a nurseryman in Brentford, England.

### Résumé

Des spécimens d'herbier ayant une valeur historique et provenant des Royal Botanic Gardens de Kew et d'autres jardins de la région de Londres en Angleterre ont été retrouvés dans des albums d'Eldon House, à London en Ontario. Ces spécimens ont été récoltés de 1817 à 1822 par Robert Ronalds, un pépiniériste de Brentford, Angleterre.

*Traduction de Céline Arsenault, Jardin botanique de Montréal*

A collection of historic herbarium specimens from the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and other gardens in the London, England, area was recently brought to the attention of Allen Paterson<sup>2</sup>, Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario, by Prof. Robin Harris of King City, Ontario. These specimens, dating from 1817-1822, had been collected by Robert Ronalds, a nurseryman in Brentford, England, from whose brother Henry (below) Prof. Harris is descended. Robert Ronalds (1799-1880) was the third generation of his family in the nursery business at Brentford (Desmond 1977). His father, Hugh Ronalds, Jr. (1759 or 1760-1833), is known to horticultural historians for his *Pyrus Malus Brentfordensis*, a treatise on apple cultivars, sumptuously illustrated by his daughter Elizabeth (1788-1854), and for the large herbarium of cultivated-plant specimens that he assembled with the cooperation with William Aiton, Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, from 1759 to 1793 (Gilbert 1973; Desmond 1977). Later generations of the Ronalds family emigrated to Canada and built Eldon House in London, Ontario, where these specimens are now housed. Eldon House is now a unit of the London Regional Art and Historical Museums.

The specimens at Eldon House are mounted (usually firmly glued) in

<sup>1</sup>Contribution No. 84 from the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>2</sup>Allen Paterson retired as Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens on September 30, 1993.



twelve folio-size custom-bound volumes, and are housed on the top shelf of a large, glass-fronted cabinet obviously built primarily to hold these albums. Some pages have only one specimen mounted thereon, but many of the pages hold two to eight or more specimens. Most of the specimens, therefore, are quite small. According to Ronalds' notes in the first volume, about 2000 species are represented.

The specimens are arranged according to the Linnaean sexual system, which was used by Linnaeus in his *Species Plantarum* (1753) and adopted until the 1830s in most major botanical works, including William Aiton's and William Townsend Aiton's successive editions of *Hortus Kewensis* (W. Aiton 1789; W.T. Aiton 1810-1813). The plant names follow the second edition of *Hortus Kewensis* and the *Epitome* or condensed version thereof (W.T. Aiton 1814); Robert Ronalds' copy thereof is also at Eldon House, with the species represented by herbarium specimens marked in the index.

Many of the specimens were taken from plants grown in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, as indicated by the label notation "K.B.G." Another major source, providing about as many specimens as the Royal Botanic Gardens, was Ronalds' own garden. Significant quantities were also obtained from a garden designated "H.G.," possibly the garden of the Horticultural Society of London [now Royal Horticultural Society], which was then at Kensington, an interpretation supported by the datum "Hort. Soc." associated with other specimens. There are also many specimens from the garden of the Fourth Earl of Tankerville, and a smaller number from the renowned garden at Sion [Syon] House at Isleworth, (across the Thames from Kew), at that time the residence of the Third Duke of Northumberland. Wild plants appear to be represented only by specimens from the Alps collected by Dr. Henry Ronalds (1790-1847), brother of Robert Ronalds.

The species represented are of diverse geographic origin, and include both hardy and indoor plants. Some species were of relatively recent introduction to English horticulture at the time, including a remarkably large number of *Acacia* species and other plants from Australia. North American species uncommon in cultivation are also represented, e.g. *Dodecatheon meadia* L. and *Gentiana clausa* Raf. (as *G. catesbaei* Walt.), both from Ronalds' own garden; Mediterranean species likewise uncommon in English gardens include *Vincetoxicum fuscatum* (Hornem.) Reichenb. fil. (as *Cynanchum fuscatum* (Hornem.) Link) and *Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal (as *Physalis foliosa* L.), both from Syon Garden. Among the aquatic species are *Menyanthes trifoliata* L. and *Nymphoides peltata* (S.G. Gmelin) Kuntze (as *Menyanthes nymphoides* L.), both from Syon Garden. There are also specimens of ferns, grasses, and sedges, but few of these are identified.

Because Robert Ronalds did not publish any new scientific names, none of these specimens is a nomenclatural type or potential lectotype specimen by virtue of its association with him. However, the specimens from the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, were quite likely collected in cooperation with William Townsend Aiton. W.T. Aiton's collaborators on the second edition of *Hortus Kewensis*, Robert Brown and Jonas Carlsson Dryander, published



some new botanical names based on plants grown at the Royal Botanic Gardens at that time. A greater number of new species were described somewhat earlier by Dryander and by Daniel Carl Solander, who worked with the senior Aiton in preparing the first edition of *Hortus Kewensis*. Some species named and described in the first edition are represented among the specimens at Eldon House, and possibly some named in the second edition are also present. Although they would not be type specimens, the Ronalds specimens do indicate what was being grown in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, in W.T. Aiton's time, and in other gardens in the London, England, area during the period 1817-1822, under ca. 2000 botanical names. Such information is often valuable for studies of the history of species in cultivation and the development of cultivars and horticultural hybrids, and for related taxonomic studies. The Ronalds collection is by no means the only collection of such specimens, but it is one of the largest such collections and probably by far the largest in Canada.

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## JOSEPH EARNSHAW AND THE DESIGN OF PROSPECT CEMETERY, TORONTO\*

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### Abstract

In May 1990, the 100th anniversary of Prospect Cemetery in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, was celebrated with a ceremonial tree planting and a walking tour of the oldest sections of its 105-acre grounds. This article documents research undertaken by the author for that celebration. Today this nonsectarian cemetery lies well within the boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto. A century ago, the nearest settlements were the newly incorporated Village of West Toronto Junction and the unincorporated villages of Carlton and Davenport. The cemetery was established to serve these expanding communities west of Toronto's city limits.

To lay out the grounds, the Trustees of the Toronto General Burying Grounds selected Joseph Earnshaw (1831-1906), a Cincinnati, Ohio, surveyor, civil engineer, and landscape engineer who had been associated with the Cemetery of Spring Grove in Cincinnati for more than 30 years. The article traces the design and construction of Prospect Cemetery – primarily through Earnshaw's drawings, through minutes of trustees' meetings, and through contemporary newspaper accounts. (An appendix contains Earnshaw's extensive plant list for the cemetery, dated July 1889.)

The article then presents a preliminary biography of Earnshaw and a brief history of his firm. (Remarkable records of the firm have survived in Cincinnati – as has the firm itself, under the name of McGill Smith Punshon.) The article concludes with a brief assessment of Earnshaw as a landscape designer.

### Résumé

Au mois de mai 1990, on marquait le 100<sup>e</sup> anniversaire du cimetière Prospect, de Toronto, Ontario, Canada, par la plantation symbolique d'un arbre et par une visite guidée des plus anciennes sections du cimetière de 105 acres. Cet article reprend les recherches poursuivies par l'auteure dans le but de cet événement. De nos jours, la section non sectaire du cimetière se situe en deçà des limites du Toronto métropolitain. Il y a un siècle, les habitations les plus rapprochées étaient le récent village incorporé de West Toronto Junction et les villages non incorporés de Carlton et de Davenport. Le cimetière fut établi pour servir ces communautés grandissantes à l'ouest des limites de Toronto.

Pour aménager le terrain, le conseil d'administration des Toronto General Burying Grounds choisit Joseph Earnshaw (1831-1906), un géomètre de Cincinnati, Ohio, également ingénieur civil et ingénieur de paysage, qui avait été associé avec

\*Manuscript submitted March 1992



le cimetière de Spring Grove à Cincinnati pendant plus de 30 ans. Cet article retrace le désign et la construction du Prospect Cemetery – principalement grâce aux dessins d’Earnshaw, aux minutes du conseil d’administration et à des coupures récentes de journaux. (Une annexe reprend la liste impressionnante de végétaux établie par Earnshaw pour le cimetière en 1889).

L’article présente aussi une biographie d’Earnshaw ainsi qu’un bref historique de sa firme, cette dernière étant documentée de façon remarquable dans les archives de son successeur McGill Smith Punshon. L’article se termine par une évaluation d’Earnshaw comme designer de paysage.

*Traduction de Céline Arsenault, Jardin botanique de Montréal*

### **The Founding of Prospect Cemetery**

The Trustees of the Toronto General Burying Grounds (known later as Toronto Trust Cemeteries, and renamed Commemorative Services of Ontario in 1991) was established in 1826 by an Act of the Legislature of Upper Canada. Its purpose was to locate and develop a nonsectarian, nonprofit, public cemetery outside the growing Town of York, which became the City of Toronto in 1834. By the 1880s, the trustees owned two cemeteries: The Necropolis, purchased in 1855 to replace their first burying ground, and Mount Pleasant Cemetery, opened in 1876. Both were directly north of the city centre.

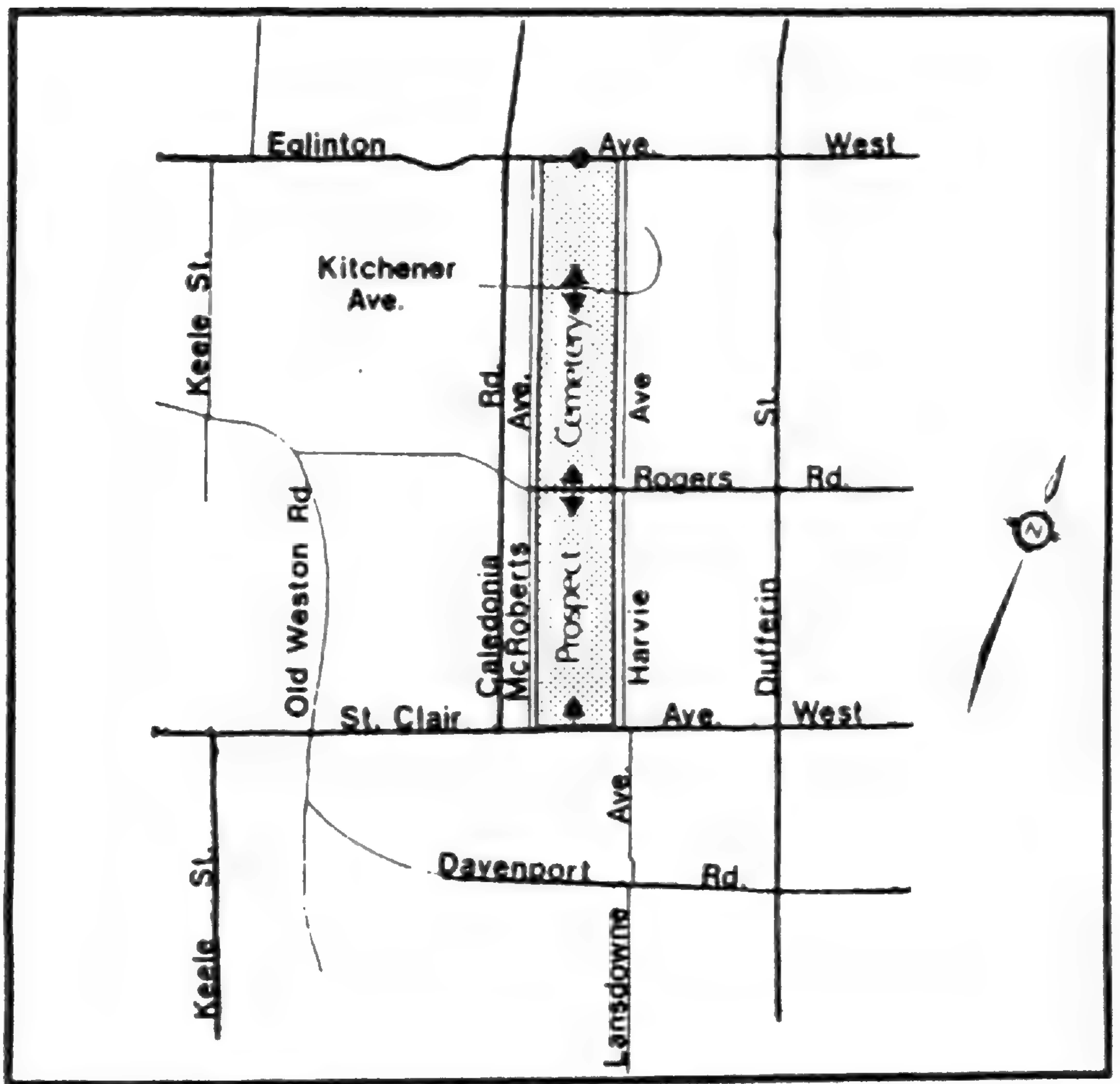
On December 13, 1887, responding to the “rapid growth of the City, especially to the westward” and anticipating the need for a cemetery there, the trustees purchased 105.6 acres near the unincorporated villages of Carlton and Davenport and not far from the Village of West Toronto Junction, incorporated in 1888. This land, obtained from farmer William Shields for \$29,040 (\$275 per acre), extended from St. Clair Avenue in the south to the York & Vaughan Road (now Eglinton Avenue) in the north. Weston Road and Keele Street ran three farms west of the Shields farm; Dufferin Street was nearby to the east. Accessibility by public transportation was important for any rural cemetery. Davenport Station on the Northern Railway was just a few minutes’ walk from the site; the West Toronto Junction Station of the Canadian Pacific Railway was slightly farther away.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the Shields farmhouse and outbuildings, the long narrow property had “two very pretty ravines,” a “never-failing trout stream,” an orchard, and native trees including maples, white elms, and red, white, and burr oaks. The name “Prospect” seemed ideal for a site from which, according to the trustees:

The lake for miles can be seen, and the valley of the Humber, with an immense extent of beautifully wooded land extending away to the distant horizon, dotted here and there with scattered villages and towns.<sup>2</sup>

Like Mount Pleasant Cemetery, the new property was “undulating and well adapted for landscape gardening and ornamentation” and the trustees





Location of Prospect Cemetery in the present-day city of Toronto. (Map courtesy of Commemorative Services of Ontario, formerly Toronto Trust Cemeteries)

wanted “to take every advantage of the natural beauties of the ground.”<sup>3</sup> In December 1888, when they voted to proceed with its development, they faced the question of whom to retain to lay out the grounds.

### **The Selection of a Landscape Designer**

H.A. Engelhardt, a “Prof. of Agriculture and Landscape Gardener,” had arrived in southern Ontario from the United States about 1870. Within a few years he had written a book on landscape design and laid out the grounds of two provincial institutions, several parks, and cemeteries in Belleville and Port Hope (choosing for the cemeteries the increasingly favoured “landscape lawn” style – with parklike expanses uncluttered by family plot enclosures). In 1874, the Trustees of the Toronto General Burying Grounds had selected him to design and lay out Mount Pleasant Cemetery and soon afterwards appointed him its first superintendent. Although Engelhardt’s



accomplishments at Mount Pleasant had been much admired and praised, he was by December 1888 beyond consideration. At their meeting on July 15 of the same year, the trustees had “terminated” and “dispensed with” his services, citing especially his increasingly offensive manner while under the influence of alcohol.<sup>4</sup>

The Ontario of the 1880s had few other professional landscape designers. David Nicol was a nurseryman who became superintendent of Cataraqui Cemetery near Kingston in 1864 and undertook the extensive program of improvements to its landscape which occupied him throughout the 1880s.<sup>5</sup> Several Toronto civil engineering and surveying firms showed some interest in landscape design, but did not specialize in or advertise such services. Prospective landscape design clients had to look outside of Ontario. In 1882, for example, the Ontario Agricultural College hired Charles H. Miller, landscape gardener of Fairmont Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to lay out its new campus in Guelph.<sup>6</sup>

For a designer for Prospect Cemetery, the trustees of the Toronto General Burying Grounds also looked south of the border. They wrote to cemetery officials in Buffalo, New York, to ask for the name of the landscape engineer who had laid out Forest Lawn Cemetery in that city.<sup>7</sup> They continued their search until, at their meeting of April 11, 1889, they read a letter from Joseph Earnshaw, Civil Engineer, of Cincinnati, Ohio, which said that he “would be glad to visit the ‘Grounds’ at any time appointed by the Trustees and charge only travelling & Hotel expenses.” They wired back that he should “come [at his] earliest convenience on the terms mentioned.”<sup>8</sup>

### **The Hiring of Joseph Earnshaw**

Earnshaw arrived six days later, on Wednesday, April 17. At a special evening meeting, he showed the trustees “a number of plans of various American cemeteries which had been laid out by him – thoroughly explaining his system of drainage – planting of trees – location of Avenues &c &c.” When he agreed to carry out similar work at Prospect Cemetery for two thousand Canadian dollars, the trustees voted to secure his services.<sup>9</sup>

The next day, the parties signed a detailed agreement. Earnshaw would first “execute and perform all the necessary surveys, levels and other [preliminary] work.” He would then draw up several plans: 1) a “Plan showing the location and widths of the Avenues to be laid out...and of the details for the cuts and fills for grading the same”; 2) a “Plan showing the system of drainage for carrying the surface water into the nearest natural water-course”; 3) “Plans showing the mode of laying out the whole of the said Cemetery and a set of Sectional Plans showing the division into burial lots of such portions of the said Cemetery as is to be used for interments”; and 4) a “Plan showing the system of planting to be carried out...and the various kinds of trees and shrubs and the location where the same are to be planted.” Finally, he would “stake out five hundred lots and five hundred single graves giving the areas of the lots in square feet,” with the “lots to be staked out on any four of the sections designated by [the trustees].” The trustees would





Scene in Mount Pleasant Cemetery, from G. Mercer Adam, *Toronto, Old and New* (1891). (Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library.)

“furnish the necessary stakes and a boy to assist in the field work.” The first plan was to be completed on or before the first of June 1889, the rest of the work by December 31. Earnshaw was to be paid only “upon the completion as aforesaid to [the trustees’] satisfaction.”<sup>10</sup>

The trustees kept Earnshaw busy throughout Thursday, April 18. Accompanied by one of their members, he visited both the Prospect site and Mount Pleasant Cemetery. At Prospect he “took special & careful observations” while selecting an area for burials that would be visible from his proposed entrance on St. Clair Avenue. He also requested the removal of shrubs and apple trees near the avenue which, he felt, would “interfere with his men in their work.” At Mount Pleasant, he expressed general satisfaction with the grounds but remarked that “there were too many walks & paths,” the sodding of which would reduce labour and enhance the beauty of the place. He exchanged ideas on “the general government of burying grounds” with Bellett Lawson, the man who had succeeded H.A. Engelhardt as superintendent and who would oversee much of the forthcoming construction at Prospect.<sup>11</sup>

At their May 2 meeting, the trustees decided to announce the laying out of the new western cemetery by delivering information to the city editors of the local daily newspapers. As *The World* told its readers two days later:

Mr. Earnshaw’s continental reputation is a sure guarantee that Prospect Cemetery, with all its natural advantages, will be made the most of and will surpass in beauty any of the present resting places of the dead.<sup>12</sup>



### **The Construction of Prospect Cemetery**

By May 2, 1889, Earnshaw was ready to begin work at the site of the new cemetery, and asked the trustees to deliver surveyors' stakes to the grounds "at once" and to have the apple trees removed "as soon as possible." He also requested that the trustees provide him with a survey of the property. On the basis of the time-of-sale survey which the trustees did provide, he then drew up a preliminary plan.<sup>13</sup> His assistant, a Mr. Morrison, showed this plan to the trustees on May 28, asking where they wished the first graves and lots to be staked out. Their instructions were "to lay out the 500 single graves on the East-side ... & the 500 lots in the Sections beginning at the 20 acre line."<sup>14</sup>

The trustees made Bellett Lawson responsible for "the engaging of Men – hiring a road maker – purchasing plough Scraper & other necessary implements – and seeing that the work is promptly and efficiently carried out."<sup>15</sup> By June 26, according to a report to the trustees, Lawson was pushing forward the grading "as rapidly as possible ... with men and means at his disposal"; the part chosen for the first interments was "a scene of considerable activity"; the old farm buildings were "gradually disappearing"; and Lawson was planning to build "two substantial driving sheds" – one at Prospect and one at Mount Pleasant – from the salvaged timbers.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Earnshaw Drawings for Prospect Cemetery**

Earnshaw apparently met all of his deadlines during the remaining months of 1889. Some of the drawings he produced for the trustees have survived. The most decorative is the "Planting Plan, Prospect Cemetery, Toronto, Canada," signed "Joseph Earnshaw, Landscape Engineer, Cincinnati, O., July 1889" and drawn to a scale of one inch to 100 feet. Extending from the north arrow is a cornucopia full of cattails. Earnshaw's name and list of notes are inscribed on two large, slightly curled red oak leaves, while the title and borders are ornamented with various plant forms. The whole is skilfully rendered in ink and watercolour.<sup>17</sup>

On the planting plan, Earnshaw specified the species and placement of 47 genera of deciduous and coniferous trees and shrubs [see appendix]. That the locations of most of the plants shown do not correspond with those of fully mature specimens now growing in the cemetery is not surprising. Some of the species listed were unavailable in Ontario. Some would not prove hardy. (Because the federal experimental farm program was just getting underway, even local horticulturists, nurserymen, and landscape gardeners – not to mention landscape engineers from southern Ohio – had personally to test ornamental species by species for hardiness.) In addition, even hardy specimens planted during the development of the new cemetery – 500 trees during the first year, according to one newspaper account – may not have received the care and watering necessary for survival. Nevertheless, the clear intent of Earnshaw's planting plan, to establish a diverse collection of trees and shrubs, deciduous and evergreen, native and exotic,





Planting Plan, Prospect Cemetery, signed by Joseph Earnshaw and dated July 1889. (Collection of Commemorative Services of Ontario, formerly Toronto Trust Cemeteries. Photograph by bds Studios.)



was carried out from the beginning, and it remains a guiding principle for the cemetery.<sup>18</sup>

Earnshaw's planting plan also delineated and named the cemetery's system of winding and curving drives, a system which, despite a few alterations over the years, has remained remarkably intact (except that the names are unfortunately no longer in use). "Main Avenue" looped its way from the St. Clair Avenue entrance (closer to the southeast corner of the property than now) toward the northeast corner at Eglinton or, in his word, "Prospect" avenue. His secondary avenues, Birch, Elm, Hemlock, Holly, Juniper, Laurel, Linden, Maple, Oak, Pine, Sylvan, Tulip, and Willow, provided access to those sections not touched by Main Avenue. (In using the names of trees and shrubs, he observed the practice of the precedent-setting Mount Auburn Cemetery near Boston.)

The plan did not show the cemetery trisected, as it became in the late 1920s, by the east/west Rogers Road and Kitchener Avenue. It did show a lake, complete with islands, bridges, pavilions, and swans, which was to be created from an existing stream and pond in the central ravine section known today, in its filled-in state, as "the dingle."

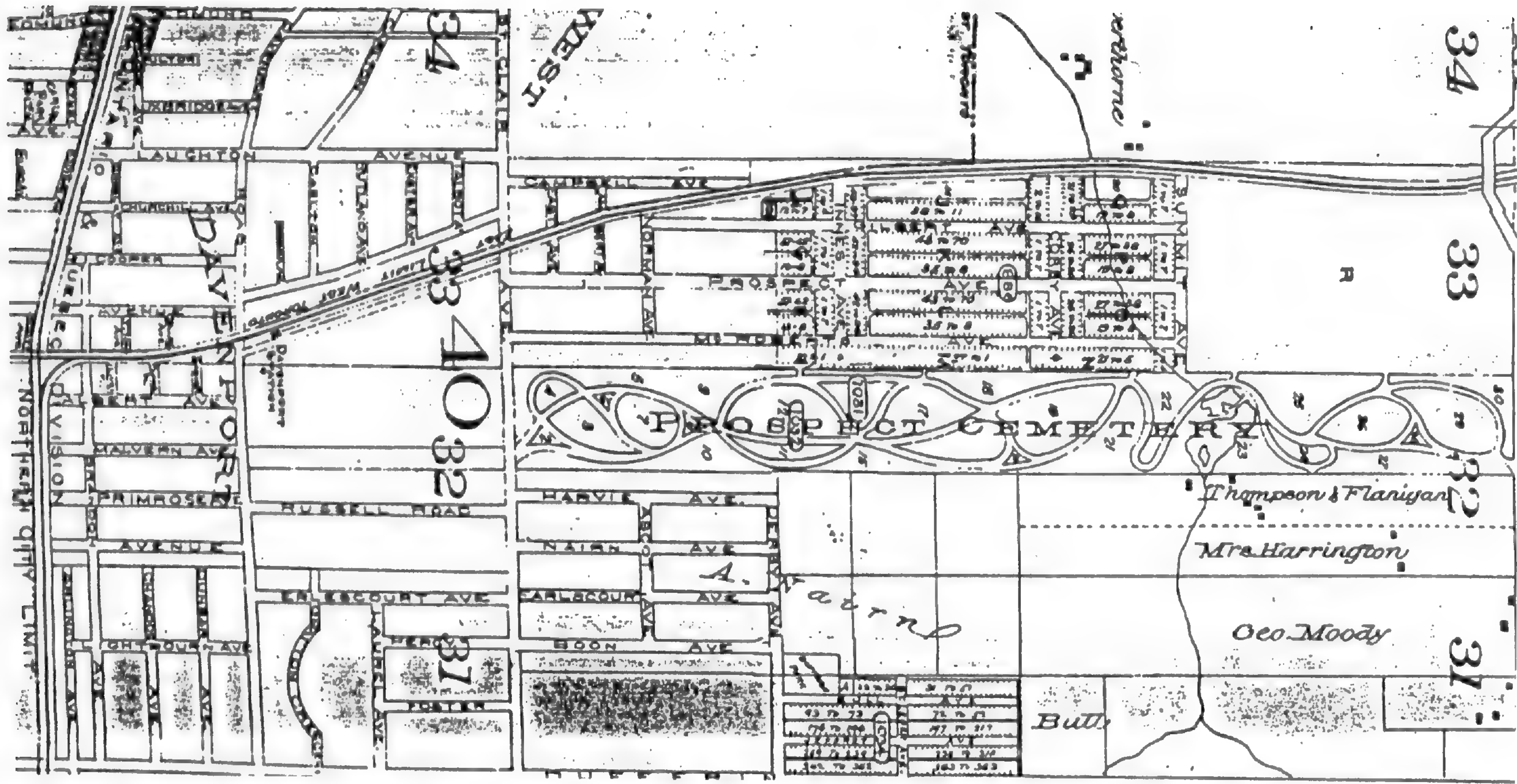
A similar plan, illustrating but not naming the avenues and plants, is unsigned but appears to be in the same hand. (Although the original may have been lost, a reproduction appears in the Toronto General Burying Grounds Trust's 1891 *Historical Sketch and Rules and Regulations*.) Two other drawings dated 1889 and signed by Joseph Earnshaw have survived. One, an original in ink and watercolour on linen-backed paper, shows sections 1-7 and 9, as well as the avenues bordering them, at a scale of 30 feet per inch. The other, in both original and blueprint form, shows sections 11 and 12, the former divided into 303 graves and the latter into 686 graves (an apparent change from the 500-plus-500 formula of the contract). Cross-hatching covers the original title block, "Joseph Earnshaw LANDSCAPE ENGINEER Cincinnati, O. 1889," and a line added beneath the title block reads "Not on Reg<sup>d</sup>. Plan." In an additional block of text, the Toronto public land surveying firm of Speight & Van Nostrand (which apparently continued the work begun by Earnshaw and which still does work for the trustees) certified the plan correct when filing it on 13th May 1890.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Opening of Prospect Cemetery**

Construction of the new western cemetery continued as rapidly as possible. On May 15, 1890, one year after the start of the "extensive alterations and improvements" and two days after the registration of the plan, the trustees declared Prospect open. The first interment took place on May 17, with the remains of Elizabeth Shields (1852-1890), daughter of William Shields, being brought from Mount Pleasant to a grave in Section 12.

Nearby, on "a little mound" in Section 11, a receiving vault begun in November 1889 had just been completed. The \$6000 building, designed by the respected Toronto architect William G. Storm, was of red brick buttressed and ornamented with brown stone. The presence of 500 newly





Goad Atlas for 1893, Plate 48, showing Prospect Cemetery and recent residential development nearby.



planted trees and shrubs, probably concentrated near the carriage entrance, in the southernmost 20 acres which Earnshaw intended to be free of monuments, and in sections 11 and 12, assured visitors of future tranquility and shade.<sup>20</sup>

When the trees provided by the planting plan grow to maturity, there is but little doubt that Prospect Cemetery will rank as the first, in point of beauty and situation, of the three Cemeteries under the control of the Trust.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Basis for Joseph Earnshaw's Reputation**

The trustees agreed that Earnshaw's work on Prospect Cemetery was "completed...not only to the satisfaction of the Trust, but in a manner that added to the reputation already acquired by him of being foremost in this department of work on the continent."<sup>22</sup> One Toronto newspaper declared that "Joseph Earnshaw, one of the best landscape gardeners on the continent, has fully maintained his reputation in the artistic manner of laying out the grounds."<sup>23</sup>

Earnshaw was 58 years old in 1889 when he was engaged by the trustees to design Prospect Cemetery. How had he earned the good reputation which preceded him? First, he was a good surveyor and civil engineer, with a successful Cincinnati-based practice established in the 1850s, but more important was his special reputation for cemetery layout and design. Both he, his father, and at least one brother had been associated for decades with the well known Cemetery of Spring Grove, established in 1845 on the outskirts of Cincinnati. By the 1880s this cemetery was widely admired. Today it is considered one of 19th-century America's most important surviving built landscapes.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Earnshaws and the Cemetery of Spring Grove**

Thomas Earnshaw (dates not found), Mary Buckles Earnshaw (1793-1858), and their three children, Henry (1826-1886), John B. (1827-1868), and Joseph (1831-1906), were born in England.<sup>25</sup> The date of their arrival in the Cincinnati area has yet to be established, and since their home was apparently outside the city limits, the Earnshaw surname did not appear in Cincinnati city directories until the 1850s: John B. was listed as an architect in 1855; H. and J. shared an office as civil engineers in 1857; and Joseph was city surveyor in 1858-59 and a surveyor in 1859-60.<sup>26</sup> But prior to that, when the Cemetery of Spring Grove opened in 1845, Thomas Earnshaw had assisted its first two superintendents as chief engineer.<sup>27</sup> Joseph Earnshaw was then in his teens.

An initial plan for the cemetery, by architect John Notman, had proven somewhat inappropriate. The appointment in late 1854 of Adolph Strauch (1822-1883) as Spring Grove's landscape designer brought about significant changes in the cemetery's appearance. In place of its emerging clutter of monuments, fences, and hedges, Strauch began to implement the "landscape lawn" concept for which he soon became widely known, and of which Spring Grove became a foremost example. In Strauch's view, individual lots



were less important than the broader landscape. By 1855 he had drawn up a plan for improvement at Spring Grove which stressed simplicity, beauty, and planned views. Iron fences and furniture were to be removed; there was to be only one vertical monument per lot; and tasteful, well-designed monuments were to be encouraged.<sup>28</sup> Joseph Earnshaw was by this time beginning his career as an engineer and surveyor.

Although Thomas Earnshaw apparently felt uneasy about Strauch's proposed changes, his eldest son Henry became Strauch's "efficient assistant" and served from mid-1856 through 1859 as the cemetery's engineer.<sup>29</sup> In 1859, following a reassessment of his duties, Strauch assumed the new title of Superintendent of the Grounds and Landscape Gardener, a position he held until his death in 1883.<sup>30</sup>

### **Joseph Earnshaw, Surveyor and Civil Engineer**

Beginning about 1857, Spring Grove officials apparently called upon Joseph Earnshaw frequently for surveying and helping to lay out new areas of the grounds.<sup>31</sup> From 1859 through 1889, Joseph Earnshaw was listed in Cincinnati city directories as a "Surveyor and Civil Engineer" with an office downtown. In form, name, and address, these listings correspond with other documentation of the firm, such as an 1867 invoice and a pre-1890 business card (on which he offered "Topographical Maps, Surveys and Plats of City Lots, Cemeteries, Roads, And every description of work connected with the profession, carefully attended to").<sup>32</sup>

At least once, Joseph Earnshaw and his brother Henry worked together: during the late 1860s and early 1870s while the latter was serving as Cincinnati's Water Works Superintendent and Hydraulic Engineer and Eden Park was being developed. This beautiful park and its much-needed second reservoir for city water were conceived as a whole, and Adolph Strauch was given time away from his duties at the Cemetery of Spring Grove to take charge of the necessary landscape improvements. But as a contemporary source stated:

The work of engineering from the first, both for the reservoirs and the park, has been under the direction of Henry Earnshaw, hydraulic engineer of the waterworks, aided by Joseph Earnshaw, his assistant.<sup>33</sup>

In 1884, the cemetery commissioners of Terre Haute, Indiana, retained Joseph Earnshaw for \$3000 to draw up the necessary plans for the newly established 137-acre Highland Lawn Cemetery. His planting plan has survived. Apparently, the commissioners chose a different site for the chapel but otherwise followed his layout closely and retained his suggested names: Main, for the principal avenue, plus Birch, Cascade, Chestnut, Circle, Elm, Glenway, Hemlock, Lake View, Laurel, Lawn, Magnolia, Maple, Oak, Prospect, Spruce, Summit, and Tulip.<sup>34</sup> (He repeated eight of these names in Toronto in 1889.) Although the nearly-square shape of Highland Lawn Cemetery required a more complex system of avenues than the long, rec-



tangular Prospect, Earnshaw may have shown his plan for Highland Lawn to the trustees in Toronto to illustrate his ability to handle circulation patterns, drainage requirements, and sites with varied and interesting topography.

During the April-July 1889 period of Earnshaw's involvement with Prospect Cemetery, his office kept at least four other employees busy with the usual work of surveying lots and subdivisions within the Cincinnati area. As was, and is still, typical in such firms, the younger men did most of the routine field work. His firm's records show that the proportion of surveys carried out by Earnshaw himself had been decreasing for some time, and that from July 1889 onwards, he rarely worked in the field.<sup>35</sup> Fortunately, however, the older man had found in one of his junior assistants, Thomas Brown Punshon (1855-1932), a person on whom he could rely so completely that he made Punshon his partner in 1890.<sup>36</sup>

### **Earnshaw & Punshon**

For the next 16 years, Earnshaw & Punshon, calling themselves variously surveyors, civil engineers, landscape engineers, and even sanitary engineers, maintained their Cincinnati practice while also taking on various long-distance projects. In a form letter dated June 26, 1894, perhaps a revision of one sent to the trustees in Toronto in 1889, Earnshaw & Punshon sought distant clients with these words:

We respectfully call your attention to the accompanying BOOK OF REFERENCES After thirty years of experience, study, and travel, we are prepared to give the most *artistic* and *economical* Grading and Planting Plans for the improvement of Private Estates, Subdivisions, Pleasure Resorts, Parks, Cemeteries, etc. Should you at any time require such services, we should be pleased to hear from you, and as we charge only traveling expenses for the inspection of any grounds in the United States, we suggest the probable advantage of allowing us to make you a visit and give such advice as a personal view of the property would enable us to furnish.<sup>37</sup>

About 1892, Earnshaw & Punshon, Landscape Engineers, received a commission from the city of Lafayette, Indiana. Their challenge was to create a 40-acre Columbian Park (named in honour of the 1892 Columbian Exposition in Chicago) by combining in a single landscape the city's first public park, Reservoir Park, established in 1876, with an additional 25 acres donated in 1890 by the Belt Railway Land and Improvement Company. Their planting plan, which survives, shows the reservoir augmented by lakes, fountains, pedestrian bridges, and special-purpose structures; an extensive planting list of deciduous trees and shrubs plus evergreens; and the whole made accessible by curving carriage drives and pedestrian paths. Construction followed in the mid-1890s, but of the proposed "music stand, shelter house, bird and animal house, restaurant, boat and skating house, conservatory, and several pavilions," only one structure, the Scott Street Pavilion, was built as planned.<sup>38</sup>



Earnshaw & Punshon's large-scale work also included the planning of subdivisions and communities: for Highland Park in Lafayette, Indiana, in 1892 and 1896; for Oakland, California; and for the subdivisions of East Redondo and Broadacres at Redondo Beach, three-quarters of an hour by rail southwest of Los Angeles, in 1897. To reach some of these sites from Cincinnati required several days' travel. Punshon may have run the Cincinnati office while Earnshaw did the traveling, and on the road, Earnshaw may have been his own draftsman. Certainly the "Planting Plan, Columbian Park, Lafayette, Ind.," circa 1892, the "Planting Plan for the Grounds of the Southern Indiana Hospital for the Insane, Evansville, Ind., 1890," and the "Map and Planting Plan, Crapo Park, Burlington, Iowa, 1895" (these latter two apparently sent out with a form letter) – all three signed "Earnshaw & Punshon" – were drafted by the same hand as the 1889 planting plan for Prospect Cemetery signed "Joseph Earnshaw." As well, Earnshaw & Punshon's plat book "Map of Highland Park, 2nd. Sub., 1896" includes a trapezoidal park whose trees, paths, and structures (a central bandstand and a smaller pavilion) bear a strong resemblance to those on the circa 1892 planting plan for Lafayette's Columbian Park. In fact, all of these plans display similar graphic and design elements and techniques.<sup>39</sup>

### **Spring Grove's Tribute to Joseph Earnshaw**

Regardless of the time spent in travel, however, Earnshaw personally maintained contact with Cincinnati clients of long standing. One such client was the Cemetery of Spring Grove. Although he was apparently never its full-time employee, he did substantial work for it. Documentation of the precise nature of his role has yet to be found, but there can be no question of his importance in the development of the cemetery for much of the latter half of the 19th century. Even the lot maps which to this day help staff and visitors find Spring Grove's 19th-century graves may be examples of his work.

There is eloquent testimony to this long service. Four years before his death in 1906, the trustees of the Cemetery of Spring Grove, with Henry Probasco as their president and probable spokesman, prepared this summary tribute:

Joseph Earnshaw, Civil Engineer. Having been connected with the Cemetery of Spring Grove for more than forty five years as landscape engineer, where he has developed from original plans, with superintendents Adolph Strauch and William Salway, surveys and plans now existing, and as these, as well as countless original maps and drawings are monuments to his rare abilities in professional work, and are well known at home and abroad, it is our pleasure to certify to their value as an addition to landscape gardening.

His grand topographical and geographical maps of the cemetery in daily use by lot owners and the trustees are invaluable. They speak of a character that by arduous services through long years has overcome all obstacles and has been crowned



by success from first to last, as another example of a well spent, useful life for the good of his fellow men.

At the regular meeting of the board this day the foregoing tribute of respect was unanimously adopted, and a copy ordered to be signed by the president and secretary and delivered to Joseph Earnshaw: in consideration of his long and valuable service to this corporation.

Henry Probasco, President.

Joseph C. Spear, Secretary.

Cemetery of Spring Grove.

Feb 7th 1902.<sup>40</sup>

### The Earnshaw Monument

When Joseph Earnshaw died of heart disease on January 13, 1906, the business and the executorship of his estate passed to Thomas B. Punshon. Earnshaw was survived by his wife, Eleanor Isabelle Bayless Earnshaw (1837-1911), a native of Xenia, Ohio. The couple's only children, Laura (born in 1858) and Ella May (born in 1862), had died one month apart in 1863.<sup>41</sup> Earnshaw's estate passed to his wife who, in accordance with her husband's wishes, provided \$30,000 in her will for the erection of a monument in the Cemetery of Spring Grove. Punshon served once again, as her executor and the person responsible for carrying out his former partner's challenging request.<sup>42</sup>

This was to be no ordinary monument. On July 11, 1914, the four Earnshaw coffins were moved from elsewhere in the cemetery to lot 28, at the highest point in section 116. The coffins of the children were "placed on the coffins of their mother and father."<sup>43</sup> The eye-catching structure placed over the coffins the following year was of pale grey granite, 24 feet high and 15 feet across at the base. Duly impressed, a headline writer for *The Cincinnati Times Star* announced:

GREAT SHAFT IS ERECTED WHERE ENMGEER'S LABOR WON SUCCESS. Thirty Thousand Dollar Monument in Spring Grove Cemetery Pays Tribute to Achievements of Earnshaw, Who Laid Out the Grounds.<sup>44</sup>

According to the *Times Star* story, the design "was copied from the monument of Lysicrates at the foot of the Acropolis at Athens" and "approved by Artist Frank Duveneck, Clement J. Barnhorn, sculptor, and A.O. Elsner, before the contract was let." The story indicated that "the monument was designed and built in New York" but did not say by whom.

The Earnshaw monument is now more than three quarters of a century old and still in good condition. It has several parts: a two-tiered circular plinth; a pedestal into which the names and dates of the four Earnshaws were cut; a large central column into which six life-size figures (representing engineering, gardening, geometry, inspiration, art, and science) were "modelled after the style of Jean Goujou"<sup>45</sup> and carved in low relief; six Corinthian columns supporting a frieze incised with the Earnshaw name;





Earnshaw monument, Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio. (Photograph by the author)

and a conical, tile-textured roof with a large leaf-and-cone finial. Joseph Earnshaw's name and dates on the base are directly beneath the figure representing geometry, which is symbolized by a drawing of the Pythagorean squares. Several metres away has been placed a large bronze plaque bearing the complete text of the Spring Grove trustees' 1902 tribute to his dedication and skill.

### **Joseph Earnshaw's Legacy**

Few landscape designers receive such glowing tributes during their lifetimes or such stunning monuments after their deaths. Few expect their designs to remain intact for a century, as Earnshaw's have for Highland Lawn and Prospect cemeteries, and few expect their firms to survive for more than a century. Yet the present-day Cincinnati firm of McGill Smith Punshon, Inc., Architects, Engineers, Planners, Landscape Architects, Surveyors (MSP) is a direct descendent of the practice established by Joseph Earnshaw in the 1850s.<sup>46</sup>

MSP's collection includes a chain that could have belonged to Earnshaw himself, plus other old surveying and drafting equipment; remnants of a 19th-century professional's working library; folded field notes from as early as 1866; large plat books recording the firm's work in the Cincinnati of the 19th and early 20th centuries; framed surveys of more-distant subdivisions; hundreds of rolled drawings from a later period; and recent records in





Trunk of European beech, Prospect Cemetery. (Photograph by the author)

computer-readable form. MSP is justifiably proud of the legacy of Joseph Earnshaw and his successors, and it has carried on its founder's connections with the Cemetery of Spring Grove. Appropriately, an MSP landscape architect is currently studying the older parts of the cemetery, to discover guidelines for the design of sections still to be developed.<sup>47</sup>

#### **An Assessment**

André Parmentier, Andrew Jackson Downing, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., Adolph Strauch, Jacob Weidenmann, and others practiced and promoted a naturalistic style of landscape design in 19th-century North America. Joseph Earnshaw, particularly in his designs for parks and cemeteries, displayed his affinity for this style. His curvilinear avenues and paths, his groupings of trees and shrubs, his open meadows, his picturesque positioning of struc-





Cutleaf European beech, Prospect Cemetery. (Photograph by the author)

tures, and his enhancement of the natural features of the site were stylistic gestures used, with varying degrees of intensity and skill, by many of the landscape designers of his period.

Earnshaw's landscape work appears to have relied on a sound grasp of a set of design formulas which he could apply quickly and effectively to various sites. He combined in these formulas both his surveying and engineering background and his long familiarity with Strauch's ideas for the Cemetery of Spring Grove. Although never truly innovative, Earnshaw's landscape work nevertheless pleased the contemporary aesthetic and responded to peoples' expectations for both public and semi-public landscapes. Clients and prospective clients would have found Earnshaw landscapes familiar and comfortable. They would have delighted in his interesting selections of trees and shrubs, his thoughtful choice and placement of structures, and his skilful integration of natural features and winding routes.

By all accounts, Earnshaw's work was widely admired during his lifetime. It endured long after his death, however, because his technique was consistently sound and appropriate to the topography. Prospect Cemetery in Toronto, which in May 1990 celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its opening, is a good example of his approach to landscape design.

### Notes

1. Toronto General Burying Grounds Trust [later known as Toronto Trust Cemeteries and hereafter referred to as TTC], *Historical Sketch and Rules and Regulations*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.



- 1826-1891 (Toronto: Dudley and Burns, Printers, [1891]), p.15; and Joan Miles, Editor, *West Toronto Junction Revisited* (Toronto: West Toronto Junction Historical Society, 1986), pp.10-19.
2. Ibid., p.15; and TTC archives, c.1889 newspaper clippings about Prospect Cemetery.
  3. Ibid., p.15.
  4. Pleasance Crawford, "H.A. Engelhardt (1830-1897): Landscape Designer," *German-Canadian Yearbook VIII* (1984):168-174.
  5. Pleasance Crawford, entry on "Nicol, David (1829-1894)," prepared in October 1988 for *Oxford Companion to Canadian Gardens & Landscape Design* (publication cancelled).
  6. Pleasance Crawford, "H.A. Engelhardt," Appendix A, pp.174-179; and Pleasance Crawford, "Of Grounds Tastefully Laid Out: The Landscaping of Public Buildings in 19th Century Ontario," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 11,3 (September 1986):6.
  7. TTC, minute books, entry for April 11, 1889, pp.214-215. Forest Lawn Cemetery was not new, having been laid out in 1849 by its founder, Charles E. Clarke, according to William Hodge, "Buffalo Cemeteries," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society I*(1879):59.
  8. TTC, minute books, entry for April 11, 1889, p.215.
  9. TTC, minute books, entry for April 17, 1889, pp.216-217.
  10. TTC, minute books, entry for April 17, 1889, pp.217-219; and TTC archives, typescript of "AGREEMENT. Earnshaw and The Toronto General Burying Grounds."
  11. TTC, minute books, report of John Harvie, Trustee, April 1889, p.220.
  12. TTC, minute books, entry for May 2, 1889, p.223.; and "The New Western Cemetery," *The World* (Toronto, May 4, 1889).
  13. TTC, minutes books, entry for May 2, 1889, p.221.
  14. TTC, minute books, entry for May 28, 1889, p.226.
  15. Ibid., p.226.
  16. TTC, minute books, entry for June 26, 1889, p.231.
  17. The original drawing, framed and in good condition, hangs in the Family Room of the Prospect Cemetery administrative building.
  18. Interview with Jack Radecki, Supervisor of Arbor Services, TTC, August 27, 1990, a sound cassette and transcript of which is in the TTC archives.
  19. The drawings described are in the TTC archives.
  20. TTC, *Historical Sketch* [1891], p.15; and TTC archives, 1890 newspaper clippings about Prospect Cemetery.
  21. TTC, *Historical Sketch* [1891], pp.15-16.
  22. Ibid., p.15.
  23. TTC archives, unidentified [1891?] newspaper clipping.
  24. Blanche Linden-Ward, *Spring Grove Cemetery: A Self-Guided Walking Tour* (Cincinnati: Center for Neighborhood and Community Studies, University of Cincinnati, 1985), p.2.
  25. Cemetery of Spring Grove, microfiches of lot cards for graves of Henry, J.B., Joseph, and Mrs. Mary Earnshaw, as seen April 24, 1990.
  26. Cincinnati city directories, 1831-1906, examined in microfiche and/or original form at the Cincinnati Historical Society, April 28, 1990.
  27. *The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove: Reports, Forms, Etc., Enlarged Edition* (Cincinnati: Bradley & Webb, Printers, 1862), pp.6-7.
  28. Blanche Linden-Ward and David G. Sloane, "Spring Grove: The Founding of Cincinnati's Rural Cemetery, 1845-1855," *Queen City Heritage* 43,1 (Spring 1985):17-32; and *Spring Grove Cemetery: its History and Improvements, with Observations on Ancient and Modern Places of Sepulture* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1869, pp.1-29.
  29. James A. Green, "A Centennial History of the Cemetery of Spring Grove: A Record of a Century of Devoted and Consecrated Effort" (unpublished 1944 typescript, in possession of Cemetery of Spring Grove), ch. IV, p.14; *The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove: Report, Forms, Etc.*, pp.6-7; and "Spring Grove Cemetery and Arboretum Historical Listing of Directors, Officers, and Officials," (cemetery typescript, revised 04/90), p.6.
  30. *The Cemetery of Spring Grove: Reports, Forms, Etc.*, pp.93-94.
  31. A tribute to Joseph Earnshaw by the trustees of the Cemetery of Spring Grove in February 1902, quoted in full below in this article, spoke of his "having been connected with the Cem-



etry of Spring Grove for more than forty five years." This suggests that the connection went back at least to 1857.

32. "Historic Notes and Extensive Files Tell Tale of Early Company History," *Tower: A Publication of McGill, Smith Punshon International, Inc.*, 9,1[1988]:1.

33. Sidney D. Maxwell, *The Suburbs of Cincinnati* (New York: Arno Press, 1974 reprint of 1870 edition), p.154.

34. Susan Allen, letter to Pleasance Crawford, with enclosures, May 11, 1990. Allen, as a Preservation Intern with the Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, was at the time preparing a nomination for Highland Lawn Cemetery, for submission to the National Register of Historic Places.

35. McGill Smith Punshon, Inc. archives, Plat Book #7 (for 1885-1893).

36. "Historic Notes and Extensive Files Tell Tale," *Tower*, p.2.

37. *Ibid.*, p.1.

38. Susan Allen, letter to Pleasance Crawford, with enclosures, May 11, 1990. Allen, as a Preservation Intern with the Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, was at the time preparing a nomination for the Scott Street Pavilion in Columbian Park, for submission to the National Register of Historic Places.

39. "Historic Notes and Extensive Files Tell Tale," pp.1-2, plus looseleaf insert; interviews with Beth Anne Osgood, Allison Leavitt, Ron Roat, and Stephen C. Roat, McGill Smith Punshon, Inc., Cincinnati, April 27, 1990; and Stephen C. Roat, letter to Pleasance Crawford, May 10, 1990, with enclosures. McGill Smith Punshon, Inc. archives, Plat Book #8 (for c.1896).

40. This text can be seen in the Cemetery of Spring Grove, on the bronze plaque near the Earnshaw monument in section 116, lot 28. Although my own time in Cincinnati April 24-28, 1990, was too short for more extensive research, I hope that definitive documentation of Joseph Earnshaw's work for the cemetery may yet be found among its 19th-century records.

41. Cemetery of Spring Grove, microfiches of lot cards for graves of Joseph, Eleanor Isabelle, Laura, and Ella May Earnshaw, as seen April 24, 1990.

42. "Great Shaft Is Erected Where Engineer's Labor Won Success," *The Cincinnati Times Star* (Monday, June 28, 1915), p.12.

This article is illustrated with two photographs: one of the monument and one of a grey-bearded Joseph Earnshaw, the latter being the only likeness of him I have found so far.

43. Cemetery of Spring Grove, microfiches of lot cards and map of section 116, lot 28.

44. "Great Shaft Is Erected," *The Cincinnati Times Star* (June 28, 1915), p.12.

45. *Ibid.*, p.12.

46. "Historic Notes and Extensive Files Tell Tale," *Tower*, p.2.

47. Allison Leavitt, ASLA, is the MSP landscape architect currently working on the Cemetery of Spring Grove.

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### **Acknowledgments**

It was Joan Miles who, as President of the West Toronto Junction Historical Society, invited my help with a walking tour at Prospect Cemetery's 100th anniversary celebration. Her invitation led me to discover the cemetery and to try to learn something about its designer.

From that point on, Louise Winton, Eric Tappenden, Jack Radecki, Nancy Lovell, and Bob Smith of Toronto Trust Cemeteries provided continuous encouragement. Louise Winton's help with research of Trust records was invaluable. I also appreciated the friendliness of Grace Russell, Jack McAfee, Jr., Barbara Rothan, Thomas Smith, and others at Spring Grove Cemetery.

I am grateful to Ron Roat, President, and Stephen L. Roat, Vice President, Surveying Services, McGill Smith Punshon, Inc., for their keen interest in their firm's history and their willingness to give me access to its early records.

Finally, I thank Charles Crawford, Ann Milovsoroff, Steve Roat, Eric Tappenden, Edwinna von Baeyer, Ina Vrugtman, and Louise Winton for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this manuscript.



## Appendix

*(Verbatim text of the original planting plan for Prospect Cemetery)*

Planting Plan PROSPECT CEMETERY Toronto, Canada.

Joseph Earnshaw, Landscape Engineer, Cincinnati, O. July 1889.

Scale 1" = 100'.

### Reference Table. Deciduous Trees and Shrubs.

No.	Genus	Species
1	Acer Maple	Dasycarpum, Rubrum, Striped, Sugar, Black, Norway, Ps. Platan.
2	Aesculus	Horsechestnut
3	Betula Birch	Cut-leaved, White, Willow
4	Carpinus	American Hornbeam
5	Cerasus Cherry	Pumila, Wild-red, Black
6	Cercis Red Bud	Canadensis
7	Cornus	White, Red-cained
8	Cladastris	Yellow Wood
9	Fagus Beech	Sylvatica
10	Fraxinus Ash	White, Red
11	Kolreuteria	Paniculata
12	Larix Larch	European, American
13	Negundo Box Elder	Aceroides
14	Liriodendron	Tulipifera
15	Quercus Oak	Red, Pin, Black, White, Burr
16	Rhus Sumach	Glabra, Typhina
17	Sorbus Mt. Ash	American
18	Salix Willow	White, Weeping
19	Tilia Linden	American, European
20	Ulmus Elm	American, Campestris, Montana
SHRUBS		
21	Althaca	Officinalis
22	Alnus Alder	Incana, Mountain
23	Berberry	Canadensis, Vulgaris
24	Button Bush	Occidentalis

### Reference Table. Deciduous Shrubs and Conifers.

No.	Genus	Species
25	Clethra	Alnifolia
26	Deutzia	Crenata, Scabra
27	Kalmia	Swamp Laurel
28	Honeysuckle	Coerulea, Oblongifolia
29	Sambucus	Canadian Elder
30	Spirea	Tomentosa, Billiardi, Revisii



31	Syringa	Purple Lilac
32	Sassafras	Officinale
33	Symphoricarpus	Snow Berry
34	Ribes	Floridum
35	Rhodora	Canadensis
36	Viburnum	Opulus, Acerifolium Snowball
37	Weigela	Rosea
		CONFIERS
38	Abies Spruce	White, Norway, Dwarf, Black
39	"Fir	Balsam, Silver, Nordmann
40	"Hemlock	Canadensis
41	Cypress	Nutkaensis
42	Juniper	American, Irish, Swedish, Savin
43	Pine	American, White, Dwarf, Scotch, Swiss, Cembra
44	Thuya	Occidentalis
45	Taxus Yew	Canadensis
		SHRUBS
46	Buxus Box	Common
47	Ilex Holly	American



## WHAT PANDORA'S BOXES REVEALED

HEATHER NIGH<sup>1</sup>

*Royal Botanical Gardens,  
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There were three boxes. Ina handed them to me. The tops were cracking with age and occasionally as I thumbed through them I found it necessary to grab a tissue to stifle an oncoming sneeze. Several yellowing papers were labelled "Soldier Settlement Board of Canada", folders probably used to chart the movement of Canadian soldiers during World War I - totally non-indicative of the material on which I would be working over the next few months. Inside these file folders were letters, registration material, photographs, drawings, letterheads, certificates, bills of sale, minutes of early meetings, as well as the occasional Supreme Court transcript - a written history of the earliest days of the Canadian Horticultural Council Plant Registration Committee, and rescued by the Royal Botanical Gardens from the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa in the early 1980s.

My task for the following months was to document and catalogue each piece of information found in the files. To some this might seem a rather monotonous and tedious job; however, as I progressed through file after file, these documents became alive with human stories - of a love and passion for growing and creating, of commitment to an undertaking, of frustration, and often patience worn thin in the red tape and challenges faced. The files ultimately came to be social histories, accomplishments, disappointments and triumphs of individual growers. In many cases, the files allowed the reader to fill in the story where merely dates and names had previously been. They were, as is true of all written words, a unique statement of the times - through language, process and events. The pages took on personalities and Nellie Stockford was one of those.

The Canadian Horticultural Council (C.H.C.) was formed during 1922 with plant registration as its foremost concern. In 1923 eight applications were reviewed from various parts of Ontario with five of these showing "outstanding merit" - a strawberry, a rose, two raspberries and one carnation (The Canadian Horticulturist, Nov. 1923, 253).

It is probable that the following story as told through correspondence and documents involved one of the other three applicants. Nellie M. Stockford was a young entrepreneur of the post World War I era. Her letterhead advised she was a "Grower of Gladioli, Guelph, Ontario." Her tenacious efforts to have a *Gladiolus* cultivar registered by the C.H.C. spans a

<sup>1</sup>HEATHER NIGH is a bibliographer currently working with CHH/HHC with the support of a grant.



decade, and boasts a file containing numerous letters, documents dated August 1923 onward, plus a beautiful handpainted sketch of her creation, *Gladiolus* 'Margaret Lewtas', for which she was presented with the C.H.C. the Award of Merit. The \$5.00 initial registration fee was surmountable for Nellie, the name was shown to be previously unused and the flower was touted by experts in the field as "having early blooms, long stems, flowers even on the stem and colour an unusual shade of cerise," (File Rec. No. 1, Aug. 3, 1923, Sept. 14, 1923). However, other obstacles were not so easily overcome.

Accepted for recording (the step prior to registration) by the C.H.C. on August 23, 1923, Nellie sent out six bulbs of fine quality to Ottawa in 1923. Ottawa had suggested fifty-four. A request came back for eighteen more to be dispersed across the various regions of Canada. Nellie replied graciously, "I wish to do what is usual in such matters, in fact I should like to be generous, but as this number represents one hundred and thirty five dollars (\$135.00) and my supply is limited...I wonder if I sent some for this year and some for next year." The C.H.C. accepted this offer on the understanding that Nellie's prize *Gladiolus* could not be registered until such a time as the variety had been officially tried in each province of Canada. By November 1926 Nellie had received no reports on her *Gladiolus* and requested the bulbs and increase be returned to her. In 1928, she was still requesting her bulbs.

According to correspondence dated 1933, it was thought by many, including the Dominion Horticulturalist William Macoun, that the *Gladiolus* 'Margaret Lewtas' was the first plant registered by the newly formed C.H.C., and according to the Canadian Gladiolus Society, Bulletin No.1, the Award of Merit, which she received from the C.H.C., included the immediate registration of the plant. This was not the case for Nellie's *Gladiolus*. In the end, Nellie Stockford never did receive her registration as it was deemed that her plant was not distinctive enough and that it had many qualities of a previously registered *Gladiolus*. A frustrated and disappointed Nellie Stockford went on to create three more gladioli, thereby adding further to the collection of documents which shed light on her struggles and triumphs, as well as those of the early C.H.C. Plant Registration Committee.

The files in those dusty boxes may be old and yellowed, but they contain much more than the simple facts: they bring the past back to life, shed light on its human drama, and sometimes yield the unexpected, such as the lovely *Gladiolus* 'Margaret Lewtas' watercolour. And in the end, these old files will surely add to our understanding of Canada's rich horticultural past.



## MISCELLANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Manual of Old-Fashioned Flowers**, by Lys de Bray. Oxford Illustrated Press, 1984, 218 pp.; water-colour illustrations and colour photographs by the author. ISBN 0 902280 91 0.

Although written for the British scene to instruct gardeners how to grow favorite old-fashioned flowers and where to obtain older varieties of seeds, bulbs or plants, Canadian gardeners may nonetheless find this book a useful source for obtaining seeds when used in conjunction with *The Plant Finder*.

**Florists' Flowers and Societies**, by Ruth Duthie. Shire Publications, 1988, 96 pp. Soft cover, b.& w. and colour illustrations; list of references. ISBN 0 85263 953 8.

This book traces the wide-spread and continuous interest in growing eight classic florists' flowers – auricula, polyanthus, hyacinth, anemone, ranunculus, tulip, pink and carnation – from the seventeenth century to the present day. Present-day florists' societies and specialist nurseries are listed, but aside from one exception, The American Primrose Society, they are all British.

**The Historical Gardener: Plants and Practices of the Past**, published and edited by Kathleen McClelland. 1910 North 35th Place, Mt. Vernon WA 98273-8981, USA. Newsletter issued in March, June, September and December, \$14.00 U.S. for Canadian subscriptions; (reprints of back issues, \$4.00 U.S./issue, \$16.00 U.S./year; send a stamped, self-addressed envelope for index of 1992-93 articles). ISSN 1067-5973.

Of interest to both professional and back-yard historical gardeners in the United States and Canada, this newsletter established in 1992, publishes information on historical gardening resources such as seed and nursery companies, museums, newsletters, books, organizations, and archival collections. Although American historical references predominate, Canadian horticultural history is not excluded; the fall 1994 issue (Vol.3, No.3), for example, includes articles on "The Gibson House Garden of Ontario" in present-day North York; and on Fort Vancouver, now located in Vancouver, Washington, which was established in 1824 as the Hudson's Bay Company's most important outpost in British North America.

**The Landscape Universe: Historic Designed Landscapes in Context**, designed and edited by Charles A. Birnbaum. Proceedings, expanded and illustrated papers from a National symposium, Armor Hall at Wave Hill, Bronx, New York, 1993, 113 pp.; soft-cover, includes b. & w. photographs and illustrations. Published by and available from The Catalog of Land-



scape Records in the United States at Wave Hill, 675 West 252nd Street, Bronx, New York 10471.

The publication of the papers from the Landscape Universe symposium includes essays by landscape scholars and practitioners on important figures in American landscape history, including Jens Jensen, the Olmstead brothers and André Parmentier, as well as papers on aspects of historic landscape preservation.

**Pioneers of American Landscape Design: An Annotated Bibliography**, edited by Charles A. Birnbaum and Lisa E. Crowder. The Catalogue of Landscape Records in the United States at Wave Hill, 1993, 142 pp.; soft-cover, includes bibliographic references, b. & w. illustrations and photographs. Available from U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Mail Stop: SSOP, Washington, D.C. 20402-9328. ISBN 0-16-041974-3.

A source book for researchers seeking information on historical figures who made a significant impact on American landscape design, this bibliographical publication includes a representative cross-section of such pioneers as landscape gardeners, horticulturalists, nursery owners, landscape architects, cemetery designers, educators and writers. For each of the sixty-one entries prepared by scholars or landscape experts, there is a brief biographical profile, annotated period and modern sources, information on the location and contents of archival collections, and an illustration of the pioneer or related landscape project.

**The National Trust Guide to England, Wales, and Northern Ireland**, Third Edition, revised and edited by Rosemary Joeekes. W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1984. 691 pp., colour and b. & w. photographs. ISBN 0-393-01876-8.

Of particular interest to horticultural historians is the chapter on "Gardens and Landscape Parks", with an introduction by Miles Hadfield, which briefly summarizes the history of British garden and landscape design, as well as the role of the National Trust in preserving some of Britain's finest historic gardens. Among the gardens included are Hidcote Manor in Gloucestershire, Nymans in West Sussex, and Sissinghurst Castle in Kent.

**Labyrinth**, the newsletter of the New England Garden History Society of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society has been published semiannually since its first issue, Fall/Winter 1990.

The Massachusetts Horticultural Society has played a vital role in the history and development of American horticulture since 1829, and its collections of books, periodicals, and horticultural art rank among the finest in the world. The New England Garden History Society promotes the study of the history of New England gardening and landscape design and encourages the preservation of gardens and landscapes. Address correspondence to: Labyrinth, Massachusetts Horticultural Society, Horticultural Hall, 300 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, MA 02115. Telephone (617) 536-9280.



